

MUSEUM.

FROM THE RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW.

Coryate's Crudities, reprinted from the Edition of 1611; to which are now added his Letters from India, &c. and Extracts relating to him from various Authors, being a more particular Account of his Travels, (mostly on Foot,) in different parts of the Globe, than any hitherto published. Together with his Orations, Character, Death, &c. With Copper Plates. In Three Volumes, 8vo. London, 1776.

WHILE the name of the renowned "Odcumbian Legge-stretcher," the facetious Tom Coryate, is known to many, an acquaintance with his works is, we believe, confined to a very few; and indeed we question whether he does not, in a great degree, owe his widely spread reputation to "the encomiastic and panegyric verses of some of the worthiest spirits of this kingdom," which are prefixed to his *Crudities*. The traveller himself was one of those harmless and worthy men, whose peculiarities of character afford a butt, against which, their witty and mischievous friends delight to direct the arrows of their jocularity and ridicule. The distinguishing characteristic of Coryate's mind seems to have been a passion for travelling, and an irrepressible desire to render his name famous by his peregrinations. "Of all the pleasures in the world," says he, "travel is (in my opinion) the sweetest and most delightful;" and Terry, in his voyage in India, tells us, that he was "so covetous, so ambitious of praise, that he would hear and endure more of it than he could in any measure deserve, being like a ship that hath too much sail and too little ballast," which may account for his prefixing to his travels those ludicrous panegyrics to which we have above alluded.

Fame then was the spur which drove this "single-soled, single souled, and single-shirted observer," to visit distant realms, and to leave his lucubrations a singular and entertaining legacy to posterity. When he left England in the year 1608, he appears to have been little qualified to enter upon his travels, being entirely unacquainted with the modern languages, though his aptitude as a linguist was so great, that he speedily rendered himself master of the various languages which he had occasion to use in the course of his perambulations. During his stay in the East, he acquired the Turkish, the Persian, and the Hindostanee; and, in the latter tongue, made so wonderful a proficiency, that he undertook to out-talk a laundress belonging to the ambassador's household, who used to scold and rail from sunrise till sunset, and silenced her so completely by eight o'clock in the morning, that she had not a word more to say. In the other essential requisites of a traveller, he was by no means deficient, possessing a boundless curiosity, and an eye, which, in the language of Solomon, *could never be satisfied with seeing*, and being at the same time sufficiently cautious, both of being deceived himself, and of deceiving his readers, though he has not altogether escaped the charge of credulity. His observations on his tour through Europe are chiefly confined to

the history and antiquities of the various places which he visited, on which account some of his cotemporaries gave him the name of a Tomb-stone Traveller, an accusation from which he endeavours to exculpate himself in his preface. In his description of the cities and remarkable edifices which he saw, he is full and minute, and the greatest deficiency observable in his travels, is the meagre and bald account which he gives of foreign manners and customs. On the first publication of his book, it must have possessed considerable interest, as Coryate was the first to give the English public a description of many of those parts of the continent which he had visited. This circumstance, no doubt, procured a reputation for our author, which he might otherwise have failed to gain, and gave his travels a value which of course they cannot at the present day possess. There are, notwithstanding, so many curious anecdotes and quaint descriptions mixed up with his "*Crudities*," that we are sure we shall be performing an acceptable service to our readers in making a selection from them.

It was our traveller's good fortune to reckon in the number of his friends many of those distinguished men, whose genius has thrown so bright a lustre over our literary history in the reign of James I. In the *Elogia*, at the commencement of his travels, the names of many of the most celebrated men of his day are to be found; "though," as a brother traveller observes, "if he had not fallen into the smart hands of the wits of those times, he might have fared better." With Lawrence Whitaker, Coryate appears to have been particularly intimate; and he speaks of Ben Jonson with great affection. After mentioning the large reward which the Venetian senate had bestowed on Sannazaro for some verses, he adds, "I would to God my poetical friend, Mr. Benjamin Jonson, were so well rewarded for his poems here in England, seeing he hath made many as good verses, in my opinion, as those of Sannazarius." At Venice, he was honoured with the friendship of the accomplished Sir Henry Wotton, one of the most gallant and chivalrous spirits of the age, "who once admitted him to pass with him in his gondola." From the pens of many of his literary friends, our traveller obtained certain copies of verses, which, despite of the ridicule which they throw upon him, and of which he was not insensible, he has placed at the commencement of his travels. "I have here," says he, "communicated that copious rhapsody of poems which my learned friends have bountifully bestowed upon me, wherein many of them are disposed to glance at me, with their free and merry jests, for which I desire thee (courteous reader) to suspend thy censure of me till thou hast read over my whole book." Many of these singular productions were doubtless the spontaneous offspring of their authors' brains, while others appear to have been composed at the earnest request of our traveller himself. Thus, Sir Dudley Digges complains:

"Our author will not let me rest, he says,
Till I write somewhat in his labour's praise."

From this extraordinary farrago of wit, irony, and folly, in which we find almost every language employed, even down to the *Utopian*, we select the following sonnet as a specimen:

"Incipit Joannes Harrington de Bath.

"Thou glorious goose that kep'st the capitol,
Afford one quill, that I may write one story yet,

Of this my new-come Odombe friend Tom Coryet,
 Whose praise so worthy wits and pens inroll,
 As (with good cause) his custom is to glory it:
 So far am I from judging his a sorry wit,
 Above earth, sea, air, fire, I'll it extol
 To Cinthia's sphere, the next beneath the stars,
 Where his vast wit and courage so audacious.
 Of equal worth in time of peace and wars,
 (As Roland's erst) encumb'ring rooms capacious,
 Lie stored, some in hogsheds, some in jars.
 This makes the learned of late in foreign parts,
 Find Phœbus' face so full of wens and warts.

"Explicit Joannes Harrington de Bath."

So great a master of words, as Coryate was, could not escape the notice of that learned prince, James I., who, we should have expected, would have felt some regard for a man, the pedantry of whose style almost surpassed his own. It seems, however, that this "wisest fool in all Christendom," could not bear a rival near his throne; and on being informed by Mr. Steel, an Eastern traveller, that he had seen our author on his journey, the king replied, *Is that fool living yet?*—a remark which troubled poor Coryate exceedingly. But we must no longer delay giving some account of his peregrinations.

On the 14th of May, 1608, our traveller embarked at Dover, and arriving at Calais, proceeded through France to the capital. His observations on this journey possess little interest, nor is there any thing very valuable in his account of Paris. At this city, he added to the number of his friends, "that rare ornament of learning, Isaac Casaubonus, with whom he had much familiar conversation at his house near unto St. Germain's Gate, within the city." Coryate's character of the scholar is curious, and has a slight touch of satire in it. "I found him," says he, "very affable and courteous, and learned in his discourses, and by so much the more willing to give me entertainment, by how much the more I made relation to him of his learned works, whereof some I have read." Amongst the other remarkable places which our traveller visited in France, he appears to have been delighted with the palace of Fontainebleau, or Fountaine Belean, as it was then called, of which he gives a very minute description: but as it is too long for an extract, we will, instead of it, give his account of some Gypsies whom he met with.

"I never saw so many roguish Egyptians together in any one place in all my life as in Nevers, where there was a great multitude of men, women, and children of them, that disguise their faces as our counterfeit Western Egyptians in England. For both their hair and their faces looked so black, as if they were raked out of hell, and sent into the world by great Beelzebub to terrify and astonish mortal men: their men are very ruffians and swashbucklers, having exceeding long black hair, curled, and swords or other weapons by their sides. Their women also suffer their hair to hang loosely about their shoulders, whereof some I saw dancing in the streets, and singing lascivious vain songs, whereby they draw many flocks of the foolish citizens about them."

Our itinerating author, after leaving France, proceeded through Savoy into Italy, where he found an ample field for his antiquarian researches. Amongst the curious customs which he noted in this country, was the following:

"I observed a custom in all these Italian cities and towns through the which I had passed, that is not used in any other country that I saw in my travels; neither

do I think that any other nation of Christendom doth use it, but only Italy. The Italian, and also most strangers, that are commorant in Italy, do always at their meals use a little fork, when they eat their meat. For while, with their knife, which they hold in one hand, they cut the meat out of the dish, they fasten their fork, which they hold in their other hand, upon the same dish, so that whatsoever he be that sitting in the company of any others at meal, should unadvisedly touch the dish of meat with his fingers, from which all at the table do cut, he will give occasion of offence unto the company, as having transgressed the laws of good manners, in so much, that for his error, he shall be at least brow-beaten, if not reprehended in words. This form of feeding, I understand, is generally used in all places of Italy, their forks being for the most part made of iron or steel, and some of silver, but those are used only by gentlemen. The reason of this their curiosity is because the Italian cannot by any means endure to have his dish touched with fingers, seeing all men's fingers are not alike clean. Hereupon, I myself thought good to imitate the Italian fashion by this forked cutting of meat, not only while I was in Italy, but also in Germany, and often times in England since I came home. Being once quipped for that frequent using of my fork by a certain learned gentleman, Mr. Lawrence Whitaker, who, in his merry humour, doubted not to call me at table *furcifer*, only for using a fork at feeding, but for no other cause."

This passage explains what Montaigne tells us, when he says, that out of his great greediness, he used sometimes to bite his own fingers severely. In fact, the delicate manners now observed at table, are quite of modern date. Even so late as the reign of Louis XIV. all the company at a French dinner party, used to dip their spoons into the same common tureen of soup. It appears from another passage, that umbrellas were not known in England when our author wrote. Indeed, we apprehend, that some of our more antique readers may remember the introduction of them.

"Also, many of them do carry other fine things of a far greater price, which will cost at the least a ducat, which they commonly call in the Italian tongue *umbrellæce*, that is, things which minister shadow unto them for shelter against the scorching heat of the sun. These are made of leather, something answering to the form of a little caropy, and hooped in the inside with divers little wooden hoops, that extend the umbrella in a pretty large compass. They are used especially by horsemen, who carry them in their hands when they ride, fastening the end of the handle upon one of their thighs, and they impart so long a shadow unto them, that it keepeth the heat of the sun from the upper part of their bodies."

Proceeding on his Italian tour, at Cremona, Coryate "did eat fried frogs, which is a dish much used in many cities of Italy; they were so curiously dressed, that they did exceedingly delight his palate, the head and the fore-part being cut off." At Mantua, he witnessed the tricks of a mountebank; and, at Padua, he visited the tomb of St. Anthony, a Portuguese saint, where he was present at a curious experiment.

"It is reported that his tomb hath the virtue to expel devils, which I do hardly believe. For I saw an experiment of it when I was in the church, which came to no effect. For a certain demoniacal person prayed at the sepulchre upon his knees, who had another appointed to attend him, that he should not irreligiously behave himself at so religious a place. And a priest walked about the tomb while the demoniac was praying, to the end, to help to expel the devil with his exorcisms, but the effect thereof turned to nothing."

From Padua, our "Legge-stretcher" journeyed on to Venice, "which," says he, "yieldeth the most glorious and heavenly show upon the water that ever any mortal eye beheld, a show as did even ravish me both with delight and admiration." Here he remained for the space of six weeks, the sweetest time he ever spent in his life; and,

accordingly, he describes all the wonders which he surveyed in this peerless and maiden city with infinite particularity. He especially recommends the traveller to "go up to the top of St. Mark's Tower before he cometh out of the city; for it will cost him but a gazet, which is not fully an English penny." His description of the gondola is worth extracting.

"None of them are open above, but fairly covered, first, with some fifteen or sixteen little round pieces of timber, that reach from one end to the other, and make a pretty kind of arch or vault in the gondola; then, with fair black cloth, which is turned up at both ends of the boat, to the end, that if the passenger meaneth to be private, he may draw down the same, and after row so secretly, that no man can see him: in the inside, the benches are finely covered with black leather, and the bottoms of many of them, together with the sides under the benches, are very neatly garnished with fine linen cloth, the edge whereof is laced with bonelace: the ends are beautified with two pretty and ingenious devices. For each end hath a crooked thing made in the form of a dolphin's tail, with the fins very artificially represented, and it seemeth to be turned over. The watermen that row these, never sit as ours do in London, but always stand, and that at the farther end of the gondola, sometimes one, but most commonly two: and, in my opinion, they are altogether as swift as our rowers about London. Of these gondolas, they say there are ten thousand about the city, whereof six thousand are private, serving for the gentlemen and others, and four thousand for mercenary men, which get their living by the trade of rowing."

The description of a curious piece of mechanism, which Coryate observed over a gate at the entrance of St. Mark's Place, will remind our readers of the two punctual individuals who notify the hour of the day to such of the good citizens of London as happen to be passing St. Dunstan's Church. We give insertion more readily to our traveller's anecdote, as, if it should meet the eye of the sexton of that venerable edifice, it may perchance preserve him from the fate of that unfortunate person whose melancholy end is here recounted.

"There is a fair gate at one end of this street, even as you enter into St. Mark's Place, when you come from the Rialto Bridge, which is decked with a great deal of fair marble; in which gate, are two pretty conceits to be observed, the one at the very top, which is a clock with the images of two wild men by it, made in brass, a witty device, and very exactly done. At which clock, there fell out a very tragical and rueful accident on the twenty-fifth day of July, being Monday, about nine of the clock in the morning, which was this—A certain fellow that had the charge to look to the clock, was very busy about the bell, according to his usual custom every day, to the end, to amend something in it that was amiss. But, in the mean time, one of those wild men, that at the quarters of the hours do use to strike the bell, struck the man in the head with his brazen hammer, giving him such a violent blow, that therewith, he fell down presently in the place, and never spoke more."

This is an exceedingly marvellous tale, and would well become the pages of famous Sir John Mandeville, our English Ulysses, as Coryate calls him; indeed, the relator of it himself will not vouch for its correctness. "Surely," says he, "I will not justify this for an undoubted truth, because I saw it not." From what follows, we rather suspect that some of his waggish countrymen were playing upon the simplicity of "topographical, typographical Thomas," as one of his admirers calls him. "I was at that time," says Coryate, "in the Duke's palace, observing of matters; but as soon as I came forth, some of my countrymen, that told me they saw the matter with their own eyes, reported it unto me, and advised me to mention it in my journal for a most lamentable chance." This explanation is favourable to the traveller's vera-

city, and a few pages afterwards, we have another instance of the same kind, where, after relating a wonderful tale, he adds, "I confess I never read this history, but many gentlemen, of very good account in Venice, both Englishmen and others, reported it unto me as an absolute truth." Amongst the curiosities of Venice, Coryate appears to have considered "a little bay nag feeding in the church-yard of St. John and St. Nicholas," as one of the most remarkable, whereat he did not a little wonder, because he could not devise what they should do with a horse in such a city, where they had no use for him; and here he takes occasion to censure the speech of a certain English gentleman, who told him that he had ridden post through Venice. On one occasion at this city, his usual discretion forsook him: having the imprudence to enter into a conference with a certain learned Rabbin, and coming immediately to the point, he asked him his opinion of Christ, and why he did not receive him as his Messiah. The Israelite returned no very respectful answer, and a vehement argument ensued; upon which, it being in the *Ghetto*, a place altogether inhabited by Jews, our polemic was speedily surrounded by forty or fifty of the sons of Judah, who began "very insolently to swagger with him." Whereupon, being mindful of the old adage, *a verbis ad verbera*, and having no ambition to become a martyr, "I withdrew myself," says he, "by little and little towards the bridge at the entrance into the *Ghetto*, with an intent to fly from them; but, by good fortune, our noble ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, passing under the bridge in his gondola at that very time, espied me somewhat earnestly bickering with them, and so incontinently sent unto me out of his boat, one of his principal gentlemen, Master Belford, his secretary, who conveyed me safely from those unchristian miscreants."

Amongst the amusements of Venice, our author did not forget the theatres; his account of which is the more curious, as he compares them with our English theatres. No doubt he was a regular attendant at "The Fortune."

"I was at one of their play-houses, where I saw a comedy acted. The house is very beggarly and base, in comparison with our stately play-houses in England; neither can their actors compare with us for apparel, shows, and music. Here I observed certain things that I never saw before. For I saw women act, a thing that I never saw before, though I have heard that it hath been sometimes used in London, and they performed it with as good a grace, action, gesture, and whatsoever convenient for a player, as ever I saw any masculine actor. Also their noble and famous courtezans came to this comedy, but so disguised, that a man cannot perceive them. For they wore double masks upon their faces, to the end they might not be seen: one reaching from the top of their forehead to their chin and under their neck; another with twists of downy or woolly stuff covering their noses: and as for their necks round about, they were so covered and wrapped with cobweb lawn, and other things, that no part of their skin could be discerned. Upon their heads, they wear little blackfel caps, very like to those of the *Clarissimoes*, that I will hereafter speak of. Also they wore a black short taffata cloak. They were so graced that they sat on high, alone by themselves in the best room of all the play-house. If any man should be so resolute to unmask one of them but in merriment, only to see their faces, it is said, that were he never so noble or worthy a personage, he should be cut to pieces before he should come forth of the room, especially if he were a stranger. I saw some men also in the play-house disguised in the same manner with double vizards; these were said to be the favourites of the same courtezans. They sit not here in galleries as we do in London; for there is but one or two little galleries in the house, wherein the courtezans only sit. But all the men sit beneath in the yard or court, every man upon his several stool, for which he payeth a gazet."

Nothing appears to have delighted Coryate more than the music which he heard at Venice, which he says was so good, that he would willingly go a hundred miles on foot to hear the like, and by which he was even wrapt up with St. Paul into the third heaven. Being, we suppose, nearly cloyed with all these amusements, he went one day, by way of variety, to see a very tragical and doleful spectacle in St. Mark's Place,—no less than two men tormented with the strappado, which was accomplished by tying the offender up by the heels, and swinging him till his joints were dislocated—so excessively barbarous were the punishments of that day. At the conclusion of his observations on Venice, we have a long description of the dress of the inhabitants, and the abundance of provisions with which the city was supplied. Amongst other strange fishes, our traveller observed many tortoises, whereof he never saw but one in all England.—He commends the grave and decent colour of the Venetian dress, and compares it with the light, garish, and unseemly hues of his countrymen's apparel, who, he says, wear more fantastical fashions than any nation under the sun, the French only excepted. The Venetian ladies had one very singular fashion.

"There is one thing used of the Venetian women, and some others dwelling in the cities and towns, subject to the signiory of Venice, which is not to be observed (I think) amongst any other women in Christendom, which is so common in Venice, that no woman whatsoever goeth without it either in her house or abroad,—a thing made of wood, and covered with leather of sundry colours, some with white, some red, some yellow. It is called a *champiny*,* which they wear under their shoes. Many of them are curiously painted; some also I have seen fairly gilt: so uncomely a thing, (in my opinion,) that it is a pity this foolish custom is not clean banished and exterminated out of the city. There are many of these *champinies* of a great height, even half a yard high, which maketh many of their women that are very short, seem much taller than the tallest woman we have in England. Also I have heard that this is observed amongst them, that by how much the nobler a woman is, by so much the higher are her *champinies*. All their gentlewomen, and most of their wives and widows, that are of any wealth, are assisted and supported either by men or women when they walk abroad, to the end they may not fall. They are borne up most commonly by the left arm, otherwise they might quickly take a fall. For I saw a woman fall a very dangerous fall, as she was going down the stairs of one of the little stony bridges with her high *champinies*, alone by herself: but I did nothing pity her, because she wore such frivolous and (as I may truly term them) ridiculous instruments, which were the occasion of her fall. For both I myself, and many other strangers, (as I have observed in Venice,) have often laughed at them for their vain *champinies*."

The wines of Italy appear to have been very grateful to the palate of our traveller. "Some of them," says he, "are singular good, as their *Liatico*, which is a very cordial and generous liquor: their *Romania*, their *Muscadine*, and their *Lagryme di Christo*, which is so

* Evelyn, who was in Venice in the year 1643, describes these implements by the name of *choppines*. "These," says he, "are high-heeled shoes, particularly affected by these proud dames; or as some say, invented to keep them at home, it being very difficult to walk with them; whence one being asked how he liked the Venetian dames, replied, that they were *mezzo carno, mezzo ligno*—half flesh, half wood—and he would have none of them. They set their hands on the heads of two matron-like servants to support them. 'Tis ridiculous to see how these ladies crawl in and out of their gondolas by reason of their *choppines*, and what dwarfs they appear when taken down from their wooden scaffolds."

The word is written in the same manner by Shakspeare.

"By'r lady, your ladyship is nearer Heaven, than when I saw you last, by the altitude of a *choppine*."—*Hamlet*, Act ii. sc. 2.

toothsome and delectable to the taste, that a certain stranger being newly come to the city, and tasting of this pleasant wine, was so affected therewith, that I heard he uttered this speech out of a passionate humour: *O Domine, Domine, cur non lachrymasti in regionibus nostris?*" Amongst the many *deliciæ* of Venice, our loyal peregrinator observed a thing which did even tickle his senses with great joy and comfort, no less a thing than the portraiture of his sovereign, James I. on the wall of the duke's palace, with a description of which he ends his account of the glorious city of Venice. Nothing very important or amusing is to be found in the remainder of his tour through Italy, excepting, perhaps, his visit to the amphitheatre at Verona, which it is curious to compare with the relations of modern travellers. Before, however, we accompany our author into Germany, we must, in candour, mention a certain pious theft of his.

"It happened that the same Monday that I was in Brixia was Bartholomew-day; at which time there was a most solemn and ceremonious dedication of a new image to the Virgin Mary, with Christ in her arms, which I saw performed in a certain little chapel, with many superstitious rites. For they attired the image with a great many several robes, as of sattin, taffata, lawn, &c.; and there was a great multitude of little waxen idols brought to the chapel, whereof some were only arms, some thighs, some presented all the parts of a man's body; although these toys were no novelty unto me, for I saw many of them before that time in divers Italian cities, yet I had a marvellous itching desire to finger one of them, only to this end, to bring it home into England, to show it to my friends as a token of their idolatry; but I saw there was some difficulty in the matter. Howbeit, I gave the venture upon it in this manner: I stood at one corner of the chapel, while many women were at their divine orisons prostrate before the image, and very secretly conveyed my fingers into a little basket (nobody taking notice thereof) where the images, were laid, and so purloined one of them out, and brought it home into England. Which had it been at that time perceived, perhaps it might have cost me the lying in the Inquisition longer than I would willingly have endured it."

We have now done with Italy, which supplied our traveller with more entertaining matter for observation than any other country that he visited. It is reasonable to suppose that before he left it he had attained a considerable knowledge of the Italian language, as he sometimes makes remarks upon the various dialects; though many of his conversations seem to have been carried on in Latin. At that time, indeed, the Latin had in its universality throughout Europe, a near resemblance to the French language at present—it was a means of communication with the well educated of every country. With regard to the pronunciation of the Latin by foreigners, Coryate observes, that it differs very much from ours; and any one who has heard an Italian or a Frenchman read a Latin sentence, will have remarked the same distinction at the present day. The Italian, says our author, when he utters any Latin word wherein the letter *i* is to be pronounced long, always pronounces it as a double *e*, as *feedes* for *fides*; *ameecus* for *amicus*; and this he tells us is not peculiar to Italy, but is observed in all other nations except England. "Whereupon," says he, "having observed such a general consent amongst them in the pronunciation of this letter, I have thought good to imitate these nations herein, and to abandon my old English pronunciation of *vita*, *fides*, and *amicus*, as being utterly dissonant from the sound of all other nations; and have determined (God willing) to retain the same till my dying day." We know not whether our classical readers will come to the same stout determination; but in another passage our au-

thor recommends a practice, which we think might be adopted by our English lecturers with very beneficial effects. "I observed a certain form of teaching at this lecture (at Basil) which I never noted in any place before that time. For he did often repeat every principal sentence of note, a matter very available for the hearer's memory, not used by any public professor of Oxford." We must now pass with rapid strides into Germany, noticing, by the way, a handsome compliment which our gallant peregrinator has paid to his countrywomen. "I observed many women of this city (Basil) to be as beautiful and fair as any I saw in all my travels: but I will not attribute so much to them, as to compare them with our English women, whom I justly prefer, and that without any partiality of affection, before any women that I saw in my travels, for an elegant and most attractive natural beauty." Near Baden, the ingenuity of our author was put to the test in the following manner:

"One notable accident happened unto me in my way, a little before I came to this monastery, and the city of Baden, of which I will here make mention before I write any thing of Baden. It was my chance to meet two clowns, commonly called boors, who, because they went in ragged clothes, struck no small terror into me; and by so much the more I was afraid, by how much the more I found them armed with weapons, myself being altogether unarmed, having no weapon at all about me, but only a knife. Whereupon, fearing they would either have cut my throat, or have robbed me of my gold that was quilted in my jerkin, or have stript me of my clothes, which they would have found but a poor booty; for my clothes, being but a thread-bare fustian case, were so mean (my cloak only excepted) that the boors could not have made an ordinary supper with the money for which they should have sold them; fearing, (I say) some ensuing danger, I undertook such a politic and subtil action as I never did before in all my life. For a little before I met them I put off my hat very courteously unto them, holding it a pretty while in my hand, and very humbly (like a mendicant friar) begged some money of them, (as I have something declared in the front of my book) in a language that they did but poorly understand, even the Latin, expressing my mind unto them by such gestures and signs, that they well knew what I craved of them: and so, by this begging insinuation, I both preserved myself secure and free from the violence of the clowns, and withal obtained that of them which I neither wanted or expected. For they gave me so much of their tin-money, called fennies, (as poor as they were) as paid for half my supper that night at Baden, even four-pence half penny."

At Heidelberg, Coryate visited the Palatine Library, in which he was shown a great number of ancient MSS.; and he supposes this collection to surpass, in richness, even that of the Vatican, or Cardinal Bessarion's. The Librarian was the celebrated Gruter, with whom our author had thus an opportunity of becoming acquainted, and of whose courtesy and learning he speaks in high terms. It was a very difficult matter at this time to obtain an entrance into any of the German palaces; but, by means of a token from his friend Gruter, and by making use of the name of Sir Henry Wotton, our inquisitive observer was admitted into the interior of the Prince's palace at Heidelberg. Here he saw many notable things; but what excited his supreme admiration, was a certain wine-vat, which he calls "a kind of monstrous miracle," and which was capable of holding a quantity of wine, the value of which amounted to about nineteen hundred pounds sterling—a very large sum in those days. The vessel was built of a hundred and twelve solid beams, the length of each of which was twenty-seven feet. In height, it measured at the sides sixteen feet, and was fastened together with six-and-twenty iron hoops, weighing together eleven thousand pounds. This immense vessel was said to

have been emptied in eight days by certain princely gallants at the court of Heidelberg. Coryate himself was "exhilarated with two sound draughts," and ends his description of this prodigious receptacle, which would have appeared less wonderful in his eyes if he could have visited Meux's or Whitbread's brewery, by the following seasonable caution to subsequent travellers.

"I advise thee, I say, if thou dost happen to ascend to the top thereof, to the end, to taste of the wine, that in any case thou dost drink moderately, and not so much as the sociable Germans will persuade thee unto. For if thou shouldst chance to over-swill thyself with wine, peradventure such a giddiness will benumb thy brain, that thou wilt scarce find the direct way down from the steep ladder without a very dangerous precipitation."

We shall now relate an incident which we hope will be a warning to our travelling readers, not to commit trespasses in German vineyards.

"There happened unto me a certain disaster about the midst of my journey between Franckendall and Wormes, the like whereof I did not sustain in my whole journey out of England; which was this.—I stepped aside into a vineyard, in the open field, that was but a little distant from the highway, to the end, to taste of their grapes, wherewith I might something assuage my thirst: hoping that I might as freely have done it there, as I did oftentimes before in many places of Lombardy, without any controlment. There I pulled two little clusters of them, and so returned into my way again, travelling securely and jovially towards Wormes, whose lofty towers I saw near at hand. But there came a German boor upon me, (for so are the clowns of the country commonly called) with a halbert in his hand, and in a great fury pulled off very violently my hat from my head (as I have expressed in the frontispiece of my book) looked very fiercely upon me, with eyes sparkling fire in a manner, and with his Allmanne words which I understood not, swaggered most insolently with me, holding up his halbert in that threatening manner at me, that I continually expected a blow, and was in deadly fear lest he should have made me a prey for the *worms*, before I should ever put my foot in the gallant city of Wormes. For it was in vain for me to make any violent resistance, because I had no more weapon than a weak staff that I brought with me out of Italy. Although I understood not his speeches, yet I gathered by his angry gestures that the only cause of his quarrel was for that he saw me come forth of a vineyard (which belike was his master's) with a bunch of grapes in my hand. All this while that he threatened me with these menacing terms, I stood before him almost as mute a Seriphian frog, or an Acanthian grasshopper, scarce opening my mouth once unto him, because I thought, that, as I did not understand him, so likewise, on the other side, he did not understand me. At length, with my tongue I began to re-encounter him, took heart-a-grace, and so discharged a whole volley of Greek and Latin shot upon him, supposing that it would be an occasion to pacify him, if he did but only thereby conceive that I had a little learning. But the implacable clown,

*Non magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,
Quam si dura silex, aut stes Marpessia cantes.*

And was so far from being mitigated with my strange rhetoric, that he was rather much the more exasperated against me. In the end, after many bickerings had passed betwixt us, three or four good fellows that came from Wormes, glanced by and inquired of me what the quarrel was. I being not able to speak Dutch, asked them, whether any of the company could speak Latin. Then immediately one replied unto me that he could. Whereupon I discovered unto him the whole circumstance of the matter, and desired him to appease the rage of that inexorable and unpleasant peasant, that he might restore my hat again to me. Then he, like a very sociable companion, interposed himself betwixt us as a mediator. But first, he told me that I had committed a penal trespass in presuming to gather grapes in a vineyard without leave, affirming that the Germans are so exceeding sparing of their grapes, that they are wont to fine any of their own countrymen that they catch in their vineyards without leave, either with purse or body—much more a stranger. Notwithstanding he promised to do his endeavour to get my hat again, because this

should be a warning for me, and for that he conceived that opinion of me that I was a good fellow. And so at last, with much ado, this controversy was compounded betwixt the cullion and myself, my hat being restored unto me for a small price of redemption, which was twelve of their little coins called fennies, which counter-vail twenty-pence of our English money. But I would counsel thee, gentle reader, whatsoever thou art that meanest to travel into Germany, to beware, by my example, of going into any of their vineyards without leave. For if thou shalt happen to be apprehended *in ipso facto* (as I was) by some rustical and barbarous Corydon of the country, thou mayest perhaps pay a far dearer price for thy grapes than I did, even thy dearest blood."

From Worms, Coryate proceeded to Mentz, and from Mentz to Francfort. On his road to Mentz he was much amused by meeting with a learned rustic, a wood-cleaver, in the employ of some German Jesuits, who addressed him in Latin, "which was such uncongrual and disjointed stuff, such antipriscianistical eloquence, that I think (says he) were grave Cato alive (who for his constant severity was called *αγίλατος*, because he never, or very seldom, laughed) he should have more cause to laugh if he should hear this fellow deliver his mind in Latin, than when he saw an ass eat thistles." At Francfort, it was the fair time, of which we have a very circumstantial account. The Booksellers'-street, in this city, our traveller tells us, far exceeded St. Paul's church-yard in London, (the great book-mart until the fire,) St. James's-street in Paris, or the Merceria of Venice, and indeed all that he ever saw in his travels. At this fair he met the young Earl of Essex, who had been visiting France, Switzerland, and Germany. The remainder of our author's travels through Germany and the Netherlands consists principally of a dry description of the places which he visited, and affords us a very few personal adventures. We shall therefore content ourselves with saying, that he arrived safely in London on the 3d of October, 1608, "about four of the clock in the afternoon."

This five months' journey appears only to have sharpened the keen appetite of our Odcombian hero, who at length determined to make a peregrination into the east. Of this expedition, which he performed chiefly on foot, no regular journal has been published, and our information respecting it is drawn from some letters which he wrote when abroad, and which are printed at the end of the *Crudities*. The poor man's vanity, fed no doubt by the facetious praises of his witty friends, seems to have grown to a prodigious size, by the consciousness of his having become so great a traveller. In a letter to Sir Edward Phillips, then Master of the Rolls, whom, in his *Crudities*, he calls his right worshipful neighbour and Mecænas, he says, "Neither do I doubt but that your Honour itself will likewise congratulate the felicity of our Somersetshire, that in breeding me, hath produced such a traveller, as doth for the diversity of the countries he hath seen, and the multiplicity of his observations, far (I believe) outstrip any other whatsoever, that hath been bred therein since the incarnation of our Saviour."—It appears from the same letter, that he departed on this second peregrination in the year 1612. After a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Coryate proceeded to Aleppo, and by a caravan into Persia, till he arrived at Asmere, then the seat of the Great Mogul's court, from which town he dates his letter to his friend, Lawrence Whitaker, in 1615.

On this journey he met Sir Robert Sherley, a short account is contained in one of our early numbers.*

"About the middle of the way, betwixt Spahan and Lahore, just about the frontiers of Persia and India, I met Sir Robert Sherley and his lady, travelling from the court of the Mogul (where he had been very graciously received, and enriched with presents of great value) to the king of Persia's court; so gallantly furnished with all necessaries for their travels that it was a great comfort unto me to see them in such a flourishing estate. There did he show me, to my singular contentment, both my books neatly kept, and hath promised me to show them, especially my *Itinerary*, to the Persian king; and to interpret unto him some of the principal matters in the Turkish tongue, to the end I may have the more gracious access unto him after my return thither. For through Persia I have determined (by God's help) to return to Aleppo. Besides other rarities which they carried with them out of India, they had two elephants and eight antelopes, which were the first that ever I saw; but afterwards, when I came to the Mogul's court, I saw great store of them. These they meant to present to the Persian king. Both he and his lady used me with singular respect, especially his lady, who bestowed forty shillings upon me in Persian money; and they seemed to exult for joy to see me, having promised me to bring me in good grace with the Persian king, and that they will induce him to bestow some princely benefit upon me; this, I hope, will be partly occasioned by my book, for he is such a jocund prince that he will not be meanly delighted with divers of my facetious hieroglyphics, if they are truly and genuinely expounded unto him."

In his description of the Mogul's court, and of the three thousand elephants kept at his charge, Coryate, unlike Lord-keeper North, who was exceedingly chagrined at its having been said that he had been seen riding an elephant, very proudly tells his friend, that since he had come to court, he had been indulged with a ride. "I have," says he, "rid upon an elephant since I came to this court, determining one day (by God's leave) to have my picture expressed, in my next book, sitting upon an elephant;" and accordingly, in the next volume before us, we have an interesting wood-cut of our traveller upon his elephant; with his book in his hand, which we regret exceedingly that we cannot transfer to our own pages. At the conclusion of his epistle, he begs his friend to convey two letters to "his poor mother" and "his uncle William," whom he wishes to remember him as his "poor industrious peregrinating kinsman; nearest to him in blood of all the people in the world." His relative could scarcely refuse his assistance on the score of extravagance: for in his ten months' travel, he tells us, that he only spent three pounds sterling, and out of that sum he was cheated of ten shillings, and yet he fared reasonably well every day.

We have another curious epistle, which our author indited from the same place, "To the High Seneschal of the Right Worshipful Fraternity of Sireniacal Gentlemen that meet the first Friday of every Month, at the sign of the Mermaid, in Bread-street, in London." This letter, to his old boon companions, is written in a rich style of Euphuism, and the subscription is in the writer's best manner: "Your generousities most obliged countryman, ever to be commanded by you, the Hierosolymitan—Syrian—Mesopotamian—Armenian—Median—Parthian—Persian—Indian Legg-stretcher of Odcomb, in Somerset, Thomas Coryate." In the postscript, we have the names of some of his particular friends, "lovers of virtue and literature," to whom he desires the recommendations of his dutiful respect, and amongst which we find those of "Master Benjamin Johnson, the poet, at his chamber at the Blackfriars." "Mr. Samuel Purkas, the great collector of the lucu-

brations of sundry classical authors for the description of Asia, Africa, and America." "Mr. Inigo Jones;" and, lastly, "all the stationers in Paul's church-yard."

In the second part of the "*Pilgrimage*" of his friend Purchas, published in the year 1625, we have some considerable extracts from the Journal of our traveller, chiefly descriptive of his visit to Constantinople, and the places which he saw in his journey thither. From these, it appears that he traversed with delight the classical shores of Greece. Of his route to the Mogul's court, Purchas has not given any account from the MSS.

We have now arrived at the melancholy termination of all poor Coryate's leg-stretching labours, which we find related in the *Voyage of the Rev. Edward Terry, Chaplain of Sir Thomas Rowe, Ambassador to the Great Mogul*, with whom our author spent some time as his chamber-fellow and tent-mate. The first symptoms of his illness appeared at Mandoa. Being one day in the company of the ambassador and his friend Terry, and leaning against a stone pillar, he suddenly fell into such a swoon that he was with much difficulty brought to his recollection. This attack, probably produced by over exertion and fatigue, for he had performed nearly the whole of his oriental journey on foot, he attributed to "certain sad thoughts" which had immediately before presented themselves to his fancy. He told his friends that there were great expectations formed in England of the large accounts he should give of his travels after he returned home, and that he was determined to proceed to Surat, a place which he had never yet visited. Sir Thomas Rowe wished him to remain until his health was restored; an offer which he refused with many thanks, and proceeded, as usual, alone. He accomplished his journey to Surat, about three hundred miles distant, where he met with some of his countrymen, who, out of over kindness to him, pressed him to drink of some sack which they had brought with them from England. Our weary traveller, remembering, no doubt, the pleasant potations to which he had been accustomed amongst his Sireniacal friends in Bread-street, no sooner heard the name than he exclaimed, "Sack, sack, is there any such thing as sack? I pray you, give me some sack." The moderate draught which he took of this liquor aggravated a bowel complaint, with which he had been attacked, and he died within a few days afterwards, in the month of December, 1617. "Sic exit Coryatus!" says his friend Terry. "Hence he went off the stage, and so must all after him, how long soever their parts seem to be: for if one should go to the extremest part of the world east, another west, another north, and another south, they must all meet at last together in the field of bones, wherein our traveller hath now taken up his lodging, and where I leave him."

Some idea of the character of Coryate, as a traveller and an author, may be collected from what has been already said. In addition, it may be observed, that he combined many of the most essential requisites of a good traveller. He was laborious, abstemious, patient, prudent, and inquisitive; and, to crown all, he had that perfect love of the pursuit, which is in every case the great incentive to excellence. To counterbalance these advantages, he appears not to have possessed a very vigorous mind, or to have been gifted by nature with a large proportion of strong common sense, which is, after all, a very neces-

sary ingredient to the character of a traveller. The powers of his memory seem to have greatly transcended those of his judgment, which invariably gave way before the influence of his vanity. His skill in the acquisition of languages enabled him to visit any part of the globe, and he wisely accommodated himself in other respects to the manners and habits of the different countries through which he passed. His value as an author, both with regard to his style and matter, is more questionable. He is generally quaint and affected, sometimes even to a ridiculous excess. His orations before the royal family are perfect patterns of the bombastic, and would do infinite honour to "Master Rhombus," the schoolmaster as described by Sir Philip Sidney. His *Crudities* are chiefly valuable from their conveying the ideas of an Englishman on the state of the various countries of Europe, two centuries ago, and also from the minute descriptions which they contain of antiquities and other matters of curiosity. We shall now take leave of "the observative and long-winded gentleman, Thomas Coryate," in the words of Sir Dudley Digges:—

Ingenium liber iste tuum Coriate sepultum
Continet, inde petat qui caret ingenio.

FOR THE MUSEUM.

REVIEW.

Translated from the Universal Literary Gazette, published at Halle, in Germany.

Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne, depuis l'époque de son établissement par Ferdinand V. jusqu'an regne de Ferdinand VII. tirée des pieces originales des archives du conseil de la suprême et de celles des tribunaux subalternes du saint Office. Par Don Jean Antoine Lorente, ancien Secrétaire de l'Inquisition de la cour, Dignitaire-Ecolâtre et Chanoine de l'Eglise primatiale de Toledé, chancelier de l'Université de cette ville, Chevalier de l'ordre de Charles III. membre des Academies Royales, &c. Traduite de l'Espagnol sur le manuscrit et sous les yeux de l'auteur par Alexis Pellier.

Critical History of the Spanish Inquisition, from the period of its establishment by Ferdinand V. to the reign of Ferdinand VII., taken from the original papers in the archives of the supreme and subaltern tribunals of the Holy Office. By Don Jean Antoine Lorente, late Secretary of the Court Inquisition, Dignitary-Rector and Canon of the Metropolitan Church of Toledo, Chancellor of the University in that city, Knight of the order of Charles III., member of the Royal Academies, &c. Translated from the Spanish manuscript under the inspection of the author by Alexis Pellier.

M. Lorent became secretary to the Inquisition in the year 1789; in which capacity he continued until the year 1791. The archives were entrusted to him by Napoleon Bonaparte, at the time of his predominance in Spain; from them he has compiled the work before us, which though highly interesting in a historical point of view, as a composition is very inferior. Continual references to following chapters, and anticipations, tire the reader's patience; while repetitions of the same facts in different places show a culpable negligence, and

lead us to think that the author was weary of the work long before he had completed it.

We deem it proper to premise our account of the contents of these volumes, with observing, that the author is not a free thinker, who, having no religion himself, is inclined to say all the ill he can of the Holy Office,—the reverse. "Never," he says, "will I agree with the Christian, who has not humility enough to submit his judgment and his understanding to the dignity of the Catholic Church, for that is a collection of all believing Christians, united with their visible superior, the Pope, successor of Saint Peter, to whom Jesus Christ confided his spiritual sheep, with a charge to strengthen his brethren from time to time in their belief; and the audacity to think, that a simple individual, however learned he may imagine himself to be, should be more competent to interpret the meaning of the holy writings than the numerous saints and celebrated teachers who have investigated them before him, is not patiently to be submitted to. Some popes have, it is true, *so far as God found good to permit it*, dishonoured the Roman see by their scandalous lives, some have even erred in points of belief, and others have contributed to a relaxation in and decay of church discipline, still the Catholic religion has always remained in the Roman church, because it has from the time of St. Peter uninterruptedly preached the same doctrines, and it never merited, as some hot headed Protestants have asserted, the name of the new Babylon, or the Pope that of Antichrist or the great beast of the Revelations." M. Lorent however is so moderate in his opinions that he will not not understand the *Haereticum hominem de vita*, as synonymous with *de vita tolle*, but as meaning an expulsion from the communion of saints, although, speaking strictly, the above alluded to *peccata*, or the devil, will lose nothing by this milder interpretation; for according to the constant practice of the Inquisition, those who are to die at the stake, are never condemned to the flames by the Holy Office, but in the detestable technical language of that tribunal (which the judges at the Paris massacres of September, 1792, imitated) are *relaxed* or acquitted, that is, they are delivered to the secular power, who burns them, after, if any mercy is shown, first strangling them.* But further, it is not even true that in the acceptance of the church of Rome, St. Paul, in the passage alluded to, speaks of an expulsion from the church; he only says, that with a *αἰσχροὶς ἀνδραποῖς* an intimate intercourse should not exist.

Having given (what we deem very necessary) our readers an insight into the religious opinions of our author, we now turn our attention to the historical contents of the work. It divides the treatment of heretics into different epochs. 1st. Epoch. To the time of Constantine. Expulsion from the church. 2d. To the eighth century. From the time of Constantine's death, a desire that corporal punish-

* An example of the technical expressions in use with the Inquisition is to be found in the first volume under the head "*Relaxation*:" "*Acte par lequel les inquisiteurs livrent au juge royal, le coupable pourqu'il soit condamné à la peine capitale, conformément à la loi civile, c'est le seul cas où les juges du saint office ordonnent cette mesure*," namely, Relaxation.

Act, by which the inquisitors deliver the criminal to the royal judge, for the purpose of condemning him to capital punishment conformably to the civil law; it is the only case in which the judges of the Holy Office order this measure.

ments, though not death, should be inflicted on heretics seems to have been gaining ground. 3d. To Gregory VII. Manicheans at this period were punished with death. 4th. To Innocent III. "*Dans le concile de Latran (1179) les peres declarerent que quoique l'Eglise reprouve l'usage des peines qui font verser le sang des hérétiques, elle ne refuse pas les secours qui lui sont offert par les princes Chrétiens pour les punir, parceque la crainte des supplices est quelquefois un remède utile pour l'ame.*"* 5th Epoch. Establishment of a general inquisition without the form of a permanent body (*corps permanent*). Unusual power and independence of the commission of the Inquisition, which displeases the Bishops. Commencement of the Inquisition in Narbonne Gaul, and somewhat later in Italy under Honorius III. The formal establishment of a court of inquisition with a constitution by Gregory IX. The *old* Inquisition was introduced into Spain in the year 1232, and as evil weeds grow apace, it soon made rapid progress; the Provincial Dominicans were at its head in Castile. In its inception, it only took cognizance of heresy, but it lasted not long before the jurisdiction of the judges was extended, under the pretence that individuals might become in various ways *suspected* of heresy, or a *suspicion* entertained that they were *suspicious*. At first no salary was given, and the Bishops (of whom the tribunal was independent) were obliged to pay travelling expenses. The accused never knew his accuser, and by degrees every juridical procedure was abolished, which could lead to the exculpation of the former. The punishment and penance inflicted or enjoined were in the first stages of a spiritual nature, afterwards recourse was had to corporal punishment. An instance of the severe discipline inflicted on those who were so fortunate as to be allowed to *contradict* a charge of heresy and be reconciled to the church, is given, in which Dominique Guzman as sub-delegate of the Pope's legate passed sentence.

The *new* Spanish Inquisition commenced under Ferdinand V. and Isabella in the year 1481, and was principally directed against the Jews, who had secretly apostatized from Christianity, which had been forced upon them; to discover them and inform against them was made a matter of conscience; the circumstances by which these concealed Jews were to be recognised were detailed; among others, if any one before he sets out on a journey gives a parting meal to his relations or friends, it is then a question whether he be not a heretic. "*Quel vaste champ,*" says the author, "*ouvert à la haine personnelle! cette regle ferait passer aujourd'hui pour Juifs une multitude de Chrétiens qui suivent cet usage, sans penser à la loi Mosäïque,*"† and, if any one dying turn his face towards the wall, or be turned towards it by another, death itself put no bounds to the pursuit of the Inquisition, confiscation of goods, and *relaxation*, that is, burning the corpse might follow. 'Twas thus were taken, *the foxes, the little foxes* (Song of Solomon, 2d chapter, 15th verse) that spoil the vineyard of the

* In the Council of Latran (1179) the fathers declare that although the church reprobates the infliction of punishments which cause the blood of heretics to flow, it does not refuse the assistance offered to it by Christian princes to punish them, because the fear of punishment is sometimes a useful remedy for the soul.

† What a vast field is here opened to the display of personal hatred; judging by this rule, a large number of Christians would now-a-day be considered Jews who follow the custom, without thinking of the Mosäic law.

church. Torquemada was the first inquisitor general in this new order of things, and an instance of cruelty, the most abominable that was ever exercised, is related in the 160th page of the first volume: we have not temper to extract it.

Aragon, in the mean time, rose in arms against this holy tyranny, and the principal inquisitor was murdered at Saragossa. The progress of the monster was, however, not stopped; he raged with redoubled fury. The murdered inquisitor was beatified, and horrible vengeance taken on the Arragonese. It was even dangerous to be descended from a Jewish family; every one was in continual dread, and no where was safety to be found from the multitude of spies; a careless expression charged to you by one whose name was never known might be the cause of imprisonment. It is true, that at a heavy expense, some might have recourse to Rome, and by that means procure relief, but even this last refuge was taken away. Alexander VI. dishonoured the Roman see to oblige the Spanish regent, by annulling all orders for release, and all dispensations from punishment then issued, and by declaring that all that might thereafter be issued, should be considered as obtained surreptitiously. Monarchy itself shrunk before Torquemada. When the Jews to avoid banishment from Spain offered to pay thirty thousand ducats, he presented himself with the crucifix in his hand, to Ferdinand and his consort; "Judas," he exclaimed, "first sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver; your majesties contemplate selling him a second time for thirty thousand ducats, take the money and hasten to sell him." An order that all Jews should quit the kingdom within four months was the consequence. This tyrant's rage extended itself to books, even to Hebrew Bibles which the ignorant priest could not read. To guard his person from danger, he was escorted on his journeys by 50 familiars of the Inquisition on horseback, and 200 on foot; at table he had always a unicorn's tooth laying beside him, for the purpose, according to a vulgar belief, of discovering and neutralizing poison, if any had been placed in his food.

From amongst the procedures of the new Inquisition, detailed by the author, we select the following. Anonymous denunciations were received. At the time of the Paschal confessions, denunciations were most numerous, as the confessors then closely interrogated their penitents. The nearest relations accused each other. Witnesses were not informed of the subject on which their evidence was required, they had only to answer the questions put to them. Three witnesses were enough to destroy the accused. *Qualificators*, so termed (who were always monks) gave judgment whether a suspicion was slight, strong or violent (*leger, grave ou violent*). The prisons were of three different kinds; the secret ones were arched, dry, and tolerable light rooms, and there was space enough in them for the prisoner to take some exercise, those however who had the misfortune to be confined in them, were dishonoured in public estimation; and the deep solitude in which they were kept, generally brought on an indescribable melancholy. In the winter months, 15 hours were passed in darkness, no light being allowed between the hours of 4 in the afternoon and 7 in the morning.

On the subject of torture, we confine ourselves to giving an extract from the register of the technical terms in use with the Inquisition:

"*Tourment : Supplice enorme qui peut avoir de funestes suites comme ruptures, dislocation de différentes parties du corps, et la mort même.*"* Many confessed whatever was required of them to save themselves from the rack. Judgments of acquittal before the reign of Philip III. were very rare; in one thousand or two thousand judgments the author sometimes did not find one.

Under the Inquisitor general, Don Diegue Deza, the Inquisition was introduced into Sicily, and an attempt was made to introduce it in Naples; the Moors were driven out of Spain, and the Jews suffered new persecutions. The king protected the Inquisition to that degree, that he even allowed it to take cognizance of lending money at illegal interest, regardless of his oath not to infringe the constitution of the kingdom; an article of which expressly declared that this offence should come within the jurisdiction of the civil judge. Rome however granted him a dispensation from his oath.

The Cardinal Ximenes wished to reform the Inquisition; notwithstanding, when minister, he advised against giving publicity to the proceeding, and how many condemnations did there not take place during his inquisitorship! In the year 1518, the Cortes of Castile made representations to the king on the subject of the Inquisition, and required a reform in it; at first Charles resolved to abolish it, but afterwards changed his mind; even Leo X. was once on the point of annihilating it, and was only prevented by the policy of Charles V. During this monarch's reign, persecutions were particularly directed against those who were suspected of having relapsed into Mahometanism. These baptized Moors and descendants of Moors were called "*Mauresques*," and as before, all believers were required to denounce secret Jews, so were they now encouraged to find out and give information of secret Turks. The introduction of books having reference to the Reformation was strongly prohibited, fulminations were directed amongst other works against the *Colloquia* of Erasmus, his *Encomium Morice*, and paraphrases of the New Testament. Nor did pictures or copper-plates which had any allusion to Lutheran heresy, escape the watchful Inquisition. Neither could its chaste eye bear nudity in works of arts, unless in representations of angels, the child Jesus, and the youthful John the Baptist, and in these any latitude was allowed; fans, boxes, looking-glass frames, on which an indecent mythological figure was to be found were also interdicted.

Dreadful were the punishments inflicted, where there were suspicions of attachment to the doctrines of Luther. Of the tender compassion for error, of the circumspection and mercy boasted of at all times by the Inquisition, our author gives a striking example. Two medical men, Garcia and Salas, had a dispute on some subject connected with their profession, and each appealed to authorities in support of his opinion; the latter asserted that the authors referred to by the former, were in the wrong, upon which Garcia called to his aid a text in the New Testament, which made in favour of his argument; Salas then in the heat of the controversy thoughtlessly replied, "That is a lie too." Returned home, he a few hours afterwards mentioned the circumstance, and observed, he had been guilty of a piece of folly (*une sottise*). The Inquisition seized him; and for this expression,

* Torment: severe torture which may be attended with fatal consequences, as ruptures, dislocation of different parts of the body, and even death.

which at most could only subject him to the punishment inflicted for slight suspicion of heresy (*suspicionis de levi*), he was imprisoned and condemned to torture; such torture as the Inquisition alone could impose: "*Nous ordonnons,*" decreed the judge, "*que la dite torture soit employée de la maniere et pendant le tems que nous jugerons convenable après avoir protesté, comme nous protestons encore, qu'au cas de lésion, de mort ou de fracture de membres le fait n'en pourra être imputé qu'à la faute du dit licencié Salas.*"* The protocol of this piece of barbarity cannot be read without horror; nor the account given, in a subsequent part of the volume, of the infliction of torture on an old woman in the ninetyeth year of her age, as a judaic heretic; and when her death a few days afterwards was the consequence, of her corpse having been given to the flames. We further meet with trials of magicians, and adorers of the devil; and it seems that in Spain, as elsewhere, the spell of the enchanter generally fell on the credulous of the weaker sex. The Marquis of Terranova, viceroy of Sicily, was compelled to perform penance, because two servants of the Inquisition were brought by him before the civil authority, and punishment inflicted on them. In Naples, the people rose in arms, when Charles V. to preserve this part of his dominions from the pest of Lutheranism, endeavoured to introduce the Inquisition there: and the Pope Paul III. said the people were in the right, for that the Spanish Inquisition was severe beyond all measure, and, unlike the Roman, was neither paternal nor merciful. The emperor was obliged to relinquish the attempt. In Sicily the people also rose upon the Holy Office.

The author positively denies that Charles V. after the resignation of his crown, and retirement to the Jeronymite Monastery at Justa, in Estramadura, imbibed opinions favourable to the German Protestant doctrines, or that he made any such confession to Ponce de la Fuente, during his last illness, for the latter had for a long time previous been confined in the secret dungeons of the Inquisition; on the contrary, he asserts, that Charles died a bigot to the Roman Catholic creed, as is clearly evinced by the codicil he added to his will, two days before his death: in earlier periods of his life he had always prevented the discussion of theological questions in his presence, observing, that it was dangerous to converse on them with heretics. The report, he says, was caused by the Archbishop Caranza, who admonished the emperor to die like a Christian (*à bien mourir*), having a short time afterwards been seized by the Inquisition—by the condemnation by that tribunal of his two priests, Ponce and Cazalla—by his confessor Johann Von Regla having also been imprisoned by the Holy Office—and by the Pope Paul IV. having three years before threatened both the emperor and his son Philip as schismatics and favourers of heresy, with the bann, in consequence of disputes concerning the sovereignty of Naples, and because Philip made use of the Inquisition for political purposes. Before the reign of Philip II. political opinions had never been persecuted by the Inquisition, but that prince found he could rid himself of those who were inimi-

* We command that the said torture shall be applied in such manner and for such time as we may judge fit, after having protested, as we again protest, that, in case of injury, death, or the fracture of members, the fact shall only be imputable to the fault of the said licentiate Salas.

cal to him, by means of that tribunal, in a shorter and surer way than in any other. The Duke of Alba having determined to humble the Pope Paul IV. who had shortly before been elected, fell with a considerable army on the territories of the church, and advanced even to the gates of Rome; the terrified pontiff sued for peace; Alba answered he would not grant it, until he had asked the king, his master's pardon, but Philip commanded him to conclude peace on terms which had in them nothing humiliating to his holiness, for he said he would rather give up the prerogatives of his crown, than injure in the smallest degree those of the holy see. Paul now obtained more than he had hoped for. Alba was compelled to fall at his feet and ask absolution and forgiveness in his own name and in that of the king and his father. At a consistory of his cardinals, the Pope observed, "I have just rendered the holy see an important service, the example of the king of Spain, will teach popes in future how they are to humble the pride of kings, who perhaps do not know the full extent of the obedience which they owe to the head of the church."

Persecutions now raged anew against those suspected of entertaining favourable opinions of the doctrines of Luther, and numerous were the *autos da fé*, at which the members of the royal family were present, devoted to the execution of such heretics. In other countries, coronations, the marriage of princely personages, and events of a similar nature, were celebrated by splendid festivities; but in Spain, in these flourishing times of the Inquisition, the court found entertainment not in bull-fights, but in the burning alive of heretics, at which the princesses were religiously obliged to remain until the last heretic was consumed: the good breeding of the Holy Office would not permit such opportunities to pass by without contributing its share to the amusement of the court. Suspicion of Lutheranism attached to those who spoke of Romans v. 1. as containing a principal article of belief, and those who were not at an early age instructed by the fathers of the Inquisition in points of faith, were not at all sure, that as they advanced in life, they would not be *relaxed* in the name of Jesus, that is burnt alive. A joke was equally disagreeable to these ghostly gentlemen. A man whose wife was a very shrew, laughingly observed among some friends, that as she had made him suffer all the pains of purgatory in this world, he hoped to be spared from them in the next; and for this, he might consider himself fortunate, that he was only imprisoned for a stated period, and got off without the penance of a whipping. The reader must not suppose that our account is exaggerated; on the contrary, we say less than might be said. He need but refer to the 293d page of the second volume, to find himself burning with passion against these traitors to humanity, these unfeeling barbarians, and his curses will follow them to the grave which has long closed on their remains. Princes were not safe from the pursuit of this dreadful tribunal. Prelates, bishops, archbishops, even those whom the Holy Ghost, it was said, had inspired at the council of Trent, were compelled to bow before it, as well as saints, as Don Ignigo (*Ignatius Loyola*) Johann Von Ribera and the holy Theresia. But to go still further; he who created saints, the infallible oracle of their creed, the Pope himself, was brought in judgment before them. It is well known that Pope Sixtus V. caused an Italian translation of the Bible to be published, and recommended the perusal of it in a

bull. This divulgence of the contents of the Bible placed the Pope on a footing with the heretic Luther, and Philip II. was persuaded to remonstrate against it by his ambassador at Rome: the Pope, however, received the envoy very ungraciously, and he drew down upon himself the high displeasure of the sovereign pontiff; a short time afterwards the latter dying suddenly, it was reported that Philip had caused a *succession powder* to be given him. The Sixtus Bible was then condemned as heretical.

The history of Don Carlos is introduced by the author; only because it is generally believed that Philip denounced him to the Inquisition; which however is stated positively to be untrue. Far different is the character history gives Don Carlos from that, with which poetry has adorned him. He appears to have had a neglected education, to have been overbearing to those around him, and cruel to excess to animals: to have been passionate even to fury, and to have been guilty of every excess which a spoiled child of majesty could be guilty of.* It is true, that when he was fourteen years old, he was affianced to the daughter of Henry II. of France, then in the thirteenth year of her age. His attachment to her is however entirely imaginary, and she married his father who had become a widower (but who was not an old man, being only in his thirty-third year) a year afterwards, without any symptom of repugnance, and when married she never gave her husband the least reason to suspect that she held a clandestine intercourse with his son. We are led perhaps to take an interest in Don Carlos by the deadly hatred he felt towards Duke Alba, and by his attempt to leave the kingdom secretly, like our Frederick II. of Prussia; but his conspiracy against the life of his father, certainly justified Philip in imprisoning him, in bringing him to trial, and in condemning him to punishment. Cabrera in his history of Philip II. says, that the health of Carlos being much impaired, a medicine was administered to him by Dr. Olivarés, which not having the desired effect, and his illness appearing mortal, the physician advised him to prepare for death, and to receive the sacraments. Whether the physician had orders to hasten the death of the prince, is a question which now cannot be decided with any certainty; but it is indubitable that the evil reputation in which Philip generally stood, of being an hypocritical, cruel, and blood thirsty prince, contributed much to strengthen the belief that a crying injustice had been committed by the father towards the son, and that Carlos, in his twenty-third year, had innocently suffered death. M. Lorent is of opinion, that the death of Carlos was a fortunate occurrence for Spain, and from what he (who is far from being partial to Philip) relates, there is every reason to concur with him. Three months later the queen died in consequence of an abortion, and not of poison. The Prince of Orange had no mercy with Philip, in circulating reports injurious to his character.

Part of the third volume is filled with an account of the proceedings instituted against the Archbishop of Carranza, one of the fathers of the council of Trent. He had made himself many enemies by the publication of a work on the non-residence of bishops in their bi-

* A shoemaker having made him a pair of boots, which were too narrow, he ordered them to be cut in pieces and boiled, and compelled the shoemaker to eat them.

shoprics, but at court; the reputation of learning, acquired by him at Trent, injured him with those who on that account felt him their superior; and his elevation to the Archbishopric of Toledo excited the envy of such as thought themselves better entitled than him, to this stately benefice. No wonder, under these circumstances, that heresy was found in a catechism of which he was the author. He was seized by the Inquisition and treated with the utmost severity; but the fathers of the council interfered in his favour, as well as the Pope. His catechism was declared orthodox, and his trial, notwithstanding all the efforts made to prevent it, was finally carried to Rome; in despite of all artifice and subterfuge, he himself arrived there in the eighth year of his imprisonment; at first he was declared innocent; but new intrigues from Spain caused him to be brought to trial a second time. His judges were suborned, and he was condemned to abjure the charge of heresy in general, but in particular, those points on which he was declared to be strongly suspected, to suspension from his diocese for five years, and to confinement during that period in a Dominican monastery. Among the sixteen heresies of which he was declared suspected, we find the following: "Works without grace are sins; belief is the first and principal step to justification." He died shortly after of a dysury, in the seventy-second year of his age; the last eighteen years of his life were passed in confinement. On his death bed he declared that he had always remained firm in the Catholic faith, but with a humility not uncommon in the Catholic Church, acknowledged the justice of his sentence, because it proceeded from the vicegerent of Jesus Christ. The same Gregory XIII. who had declared him suspected of heretical errors, caused an inscription honourable to his memory to be placed on his tomb; in it, he is called *vir genere, vita, doctrina, concione atque eleemosynis clarus*.

The persecutions of the Inquisition in Arragon were also directed against the political privileges of the people, which were so hateful in the eyes of the court. In early periods of their history, it is well known, that the Arragonese preceded the oath of allegiance to their monarch, by this declaration, "We, who are as good as you, and who have more power than you, make you our king, on condition that you hold sacred our constitution; if not, not." By means of the Inquisition, the privileges of this proud people, so jealous of their rights, were attacked, and gradually annihilated. In the reign of Philip III. the Moors (*Mauresques*) were driven out of Spain, which thereby lost a million of industrious inhabitants. *Autos da fé* continued frequent under Philip IV. During the minority of Charles II. and the regency of his mother, the German Jesuit, Neidhardt, (here called Nitardo,) confessor of the court, and afterwards Archbishop of Edessa and cardinal, plays an important part. Charles having no issue in marriage, it was attributed to impotency, caused by magic, and the feeble prince was exorcised. Whoever wishes to read a true monkish production, will find one in a sermon commencing on the 24th page of volume four. The Franciscan finds the Holy Office in every part of the Old and New Testament, and even in the Apocalypse. Philip V. was advised by his grandfather, Louis XIV. to maintain the Inquisition in all its privileges; he thereby would secure himself upon his throne and preserve quiet in the king-

dom. Under Ferdinand VI. a gradual but important alteration took place in public opinion; political and literary publications found their way into Spain, and opened the eyes of the people, but still there certainly was not too much light: free masonry continued forbidden on pain of being sent to the galleys, and even of death; however no more *auto da fé's* *generaux* were given; and while at Rome the astronomical observations of Galilei, against which in earlier days the thunders of the Inquisition had been levelled, were attentively listened to, or, as at the present time, the holy Augustin would venture to believe in the Antipodes, without fearing to encroach on his veneration for the Bible, so, in Spain itself, limits were put to the pretensions of the Romish clergy, and the heretical opinions of many were found to be not incompatible with the prerogatives of the sovereign. In the reign of Charles III. *public auto da fé's* were still less frequent. The French revolution broke out in the reign of Charles III. and Florida-blanca advised the king to abolish the professorship in the law of nature and the law of nations, in the Spanish universities. The students who had imbibed the new doctrines with the greatest ardour, were denounced, with many other distinguished persons, as Janse-nists. A subsequent minister of state, Don Mariano Louis de Urquijo* was treated leniently by the Inquisition, who feared the then existing minister, Aranda.

The enemies of the Prince of Peace attempted to destroy him by means of the Inquisition; he was denounced as suspected of atheism, and as guilty of living in a state of bigamy. The inquisitor general, Cardinal Lorenzano, found this however too dangerous a matter to proceed in with precipitation. Letters were despatched to Rome, and Pius VI. was persuaded to write to Lorenzano that the interests of religion required he should act in this case decidedly and promptly. But General Bonaparte intercepted the letter at Genoa, and thought it an act of political friendship to transmit it to the Prince of Peace, who on receiving it, sent his principal enemy in the suite of the cardinal, with a splendid embassy to Rome, *to assure the sovereign pontiff of his sincere concern at the attack of General Bonaparte on the territories of the church.* The deeds of the Emperor Napoleon in Spain, and the abolition of the Inquisition there, are still fresh in our memory; the extraordinary general Cortes convened in the year 1813, also declared this tribunal to be totally incompatible with the constitution. Ferdinand VII. on his return re-established it. It was reserved for a later period than that of the publication of M. Lorent's work, to witness its destruction anew, and we fervently hope, for ever.

As not inconsistent with the object of this article, we have extracted from the "History of the Inquisition in Spain," a statement of the number of the victims of the Holy Office: it was impossible to make it precisely correct, but it very nearly approaches the truth. The round numbers are the probable amount at a moderate computation. The victims are divided into three classes; A, shows the number ac-

* Urquijo, when minister, opened Spanish America to our countryman Von Humboldt; he was afterwards driven from his station, and lived eight years at Pampeluna under arrest, from which he was released by Ferdinand VII. When minister he would have gladly suppressed the Inquisition, had he had the power. He died at Paris on the 4th May, 1817, in the 49th year of his age.

tually burnt; B, those who died before the execution of their sentence, or who escaped by flight, and who were burnt in effigy; C, those who suffered severe punishments, as whipping, imprisonment, &c. The names are those of the inquisitors general under whom the judgments of the Inquisition were executed.

	A	B	C	Total.
1. 1452. Torquemada,	8800	6400	90094	105294
2. 1499. Diegue Deza,	1664	832	32456	34952
3. 1507. Ximenes,	2536	1368	47263	51167
4. 1518. Adrien,	1344	672	26214	28230
5. 1524. Alphonse Maurique,	2250	1125	11250	14625
6. 1589. Pardo de Talera	840	420	4200	5460
7. 1546. Garcia de Loaisa,	120	60	600	780
8. 1547. Valdès,	2400	1200	12000	15600
9. 1566. Diegue Espinosa,	720	360	3600	4680
10. 1372. Ponce de Leon,	—	—	—	—
11. 1573. Quiroga,	2816	1408	14080	18304
12. 1595. Jérôme Maurique,	128	64	640	832
13. 1596. Portocarrero,	184	92	1920	2196
14. 1599. Nigno de Guevara,	240	96	1728	2064
15. 1602. Jean de Zagniga,	80	32	576	688
16. 1603. Jean Baptiste d'Acceledo,	400	116	2880	3396
17. 1608. Bernard de Sandoval y Roxas,	880	352	6336	7568
18. 1619. Louis de Aliaga,	240	96	1728	2064
19. 1622. Pacheco,	256	128	1280	1664
20. 1627. Antonio de Zapata y Mendoza,	384	192	1920	2496
21. 1632. Antonio de Sotomayor,	704	352	3520	4576
22. 1643. Diegue de Arce y Reynoso,	1472	736	7360	9568
23. 1666. Pascal d'Arragon,	—	—	—	—
24. 1666. Everard Nitardo,	144	48	576	768
25. 1669. Garmiento de Valladares,	1248	416	4992	6656
26. 1695. Thomas de Rocaberti,	240	80	960	1280
27. 1699. Alphonse Fernandez de Cordova y Aguilar,	—	—	—	—
28. 1699. Balthazar de Mendoza y Gandoval	240	80	960	1280
29. 1705. Vidal Marin,	136	68	816	1020
30. 1709. De la Riva-Herrera,	68	34	408	510
31. 1711. François Judece,	204	102	1224	1530
32. 1717. Joseph de Molines,	68	34	408	510
33. 1719. Jean de Arzamendi,	—	—	—	—
34. 1720. Diegue d'Astorga y Cespedes,	68	34	408	510
35. 1720. Jean de Camargo,	442	221	2652	3315
36. 1733. André de Orbe y Larreategui	238	119	1428	1785
37. 1742. Manuel Isidore Manrique de Lara,	136	68	816	1020
38. 1746. François Perez de Padro y Cuesta,	10	5	107	122
39. 1758. Manuel Quintans Bonifaz,	2	0	10*	12
40. 1775. Philippe Bertrand,	16	0	48	64
41. 1783. Augustin Rubia de Cevallos,	0	0	14†	14
42. 1792. Manuel Abad-y-la-Sierra,	0	0	16	16
43. 1794. Lorenzano,	0	1	14	15
44. 1798—1808. Ramon Joseph de Arce,	0	0	20	20

The same proportion existing under A B and C, for the numbers generally stand in the relation of 2, 1 and 10, or 2, 1 and 12, might occasion a doubt of the correctness of this statement; but it is not improbable that the judges of the Inquisition, when they held a court of faith or inquisition, agreed among themselves to preserve a certain

* These ten were publicly punished. An uncertain but larger number were privately punished. Those punished in private suffered neither in their reputation nor property.

† The number punished *intra muros* was very considerable, as was also the case under No. 43 and 44.

proportion between A, B and C. The author further observes on this subject: "Had I added to the number of victims of the Inquisition in the Peninsula, those who suffered under its judgments in Mexico, Lima, and Carthage, in Sicily, Sardinia, Oran and Malta, and those who were condemned to the sea galleys, then indeed the amount would be incalculable. And what if we included (which we should be justified in doing) among the victims of the Holy Office, those who were plunged into misery by the violent attempts made to introduce it in Naples, Milan, and Flanders! How many too might be added who perished by sickness, the consequence of the punishment of infamy, which even their relations shared with them!—it would be impossible to put a limit to the extent of so much misery and wretchedness."

The Swiss of former times, finding it impossible to defend themselves in any way other against the *Courtisans*, so termed, who were shamelessly sent into their country, by the court of Rome, to take possession of ecclesiastical benefices, came to the resolution to drown every such *Courtisan*, without form of trial, as soon as he made his appearance: by the same rule, we think every country, where there should be but the most distant likelihood of the introduction of such an institution as the Inquisition, or of any society who *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, would promote the establishment of it, would be justified in determining to hang the first person who made a public proposition in its favour, and in enforcing this determination without mercy, for *principiis obsta* is a golden rule which is taught in the lower classes of every Latin school.

One remark more, and we have done. The more firmly attached the author of such a work as the one before us, is to the Roman Catholic faith, the more confidence can we place in the facts he details, particularly when such sources of information stand open to him, as those stated by M. Lorent, and that he, by affixing his name to the book, gives assurance that he has faithfully compiled from them.

E. W. H.

FROM THE RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW.

Pithy, Pleasant, and Profitable Works of Maister Skelton, Poet Laureate to Henry VIII.—London, 1736.

Britannicarum Literarum lumen et decus.—*Eraemi Epist. ad Hen. VIII.*

SKELTON is a curious, able, and remarkable writer, and one who was styled, in his turn, by as great a scholar as ever lived, the light and ornament of Britain. And as he doubtless produced a considerable effect upon English poetry and the English language, he is well worthy of a notice here.

Very little is known of the life of John Skelton, and that little to be got from the *Athenæ Oxonienses*. He passed through Oxford with a high reputation, and became rector of Dyse, in Norfolk, when he fell under the displeasure of Nykke, bishop of Norwich. Not only because he "was esteemed more fit for the stage than the pew or pulpit," but because he indulged too freely in his writings, in censures on the Monks and Dominicans; and, moreover, had the hardihood to reflect, in no very mild terms, on the manners and life of Cardinal Wolsey. For which last offence he was so closely pursued by the cardinal's officers, that he was obliged to take sanctuary at Westminster,

VOL. II. No. 8.—*Museum*.

Q

where he was kindly entertained by John Islip, the abbot, and continued there till the time of his death. Anthony Wood adds, that "Erasmus, in an epistle to King Henry VIII., styles this poet *Britannicarum Literarum Lumen et Decus*, and of the like opinion were many of his time. Yet the generality said, that his witty discourses were biting; his laughter opprobrious and scornful; and his jokes commonly sharp and reflecting." Skelton's reputation was undoubtedly high among his contemporaries; and we cannot give a better evidence of it, nor, at the same time, introduce Skelton better to the notice of our readers, than by the praises of his friend Thomas Churchyard, who is, at the same time, recommending the early English poets in general.

"Nor scorne your mother-tongue,
O babes of English breed:
I have of other language seen
And you at full may read
Fine verses trimly wrought,
And couch'd in comely sort;
But never you or I, I trowe,
In sentence plaine and short,
Did ever yet beholde with eye,
In any foraigne tongue,
A higher verse, a statelier style,
That may be read or sung,
Than is this day, indeed,
Our English verse and rhyme,
The grace whereof doth touch the Gods,
And reach the cloudes sometime!
Thro' earth and waters deepe
The pen by skill doth passe,
And featly nips the worlde's abuse,
And shows us, in a glass,
The vertue and the vice
Of every wight alive:
The honey-combe that bee doth make
Is not so sweet in hive,
As are the golden leaves
That drop from poets' head,
Which do surmount our common talke
As far as gold doth lead.
The flour is sifted cleane,
The bran is cast aside,
And so good corne is known from chaffe,
And each fine grain is spied.
Piers Ploughman was full plaine,
And Chaucer's sprete was great;
Earl Surrey had a goodly veine,
Lord Vaux the marke did beate.
And Phaer did hit the Pricke
In things he did translate,

And Edwards had a special gift;
And divers men, of late,
Have helpt our English tongue,
That first was base and brute.
Oh! shall I leave out Skelton's name,
The blossom of my fruit!
The tree whereon, indeed,
My branches all might grow:
Nay, Skelton wore the laurel wreath,
And past in schools, ye know,
A poet for his art,
Whose judgment sure was high,
And had great practise of the pen,
His workes they will not lie;
His termes to taunts did leane,
His talke was as he wrote;
Full quick of wit, right sharp of wordes,
And skilful of the state;
Of reason ripe and good,
And to the hateful minde,
That did disdaine his doings still,
A scorner of his kinde;
Most pleasant every waye,
As poets ought to be,
And seldom out of princes' grace,
And great with each degree:
Thus have you heard at full
What Skelton was, indeed;
A further knowledge shall you have
If you his books do read.
I have, of mere good will,
These verses written here,
To honour virtue as I ought,
And make his fame appear;
That wore the garland gay
Of laurel leaves but late,
Small is my pain, great is his praise,
That thus such honour gate."

The contents of this book appear to have been printed separately in small pamphlets, and afterwards collected by Skelton himself; at least they are preceded by an introduction from the hand of the poet himself, in which he, however, in enumerating his works, speaks of many which are not to be found here. This introduction is an allegorical piece, in which the Queen of Fame and Dame Pallas are personages, who at length hand the poet over to Occupation, who gives him employment, and sets certain fair ladies about composing him a laurel. To each of them, Skelton addresses copies of verses. One set, to Mistress Margaret Hussey, is beautiful, and gives one an idea of a

most amiable character. In this instance we will modernize the spelling.

"To Mistress Margaret Hussey."

Merry Margaret
As midsummer flower,
Gentle as falcon,
Or hawk of the tower,
With solace and gladness,
Much mirth and no madness,
All good, and no badness;
So joyously,
So maidenly,
So womanly,
Her demeaning
In every thing,
Far, far passing
That I can indite,
Or suffice to write,
Of merry Margaret,
As midsummer flower,

Gentle as falcon,
Or hawk of the tower;
As patient and as still,
And as full of good will
As fair Isiphil,
Coliander,
Sweet Pomander,
Good Cassander;
Stedfast of thought,
Well made, well wrought,
Far may be sought
Erst you can find
So courteous, so kind,
As merry Margaret,
This midsummer flower,
Gentle as falcon,
Or hawk of the tower."

After the introduction, which is styled the *Crown of Laurel*, the different pieces follow; the principal of which, are *The Bouge of the Court*, an allegorical poem on the vices of a court; *The Duke of Albany*, full of virulent abuse of the Scots; *Ware the Hawk*, against the vices of the clergy; *The Tunning of Eleanour Rummung*, a very singular and humorous but very coarse description of an old ale-woman, and her female customer. *Why come ye not to Court*, a satire on Cardinal Wolsey; with various others.

In the *Bouge of Court* there are some striking short passages out of the usual style of Skelton, such as this personification of Suspicion.

"And when he came walking soberly
With *hum*, and *hah*, and with a crooked look,
Methought his head was full of jealousy,
His eyne rolling, his handes fast they quoke,
And to-me-ward the straight way he took:
God speed, brother, quoth he then,
And thus to talk with me he began."

And this, of Riot.

"With that came Riot rushing all at once,
A rustic galand to ragged and to rente:
And on the board he whirl'd a pair of bones,
Quatre, treye, deuce, he clatter'd as he went;
Now have at all by Saint Thomas of Kent.
And ever he threw, and kist I, wot ne'er what,
His hair was growing thorow out his hat.
Then I beheld how he disguised was,
His head was heavy for watching over night,
His eyne bleared, his face shone like a glass,
His gown so short, that it ne cover might
His rump; he went so all for summer light.
His hose was guarded with a list of green,
Yet at the knee they were broken, I ween.
His coat was checker'd with patches red and blue,
O' Kirkby Kendale was his short demy;
And aye he sang in faith decon thou crew;
His elbow bare, he ware his geer so nye,
His nose dropping, his lips were full dry;
And by his side his whynard and his pouch
The devil might dance therein for any crouch."

And also the following, of Dissimulation.

"Disdain I saw with Dissimulation,
 Standing in sad communication.
 But there was pointing and nodding with the head,
 And many words said in secretwise;
 They wander'd ay and stood still in no stead;
 Methought alway Dissimular did devise:
 Me passing, sore my heart then gan arise,
 I deem'd and dred their talking was not good,
 Anon Dissimular came where I stood.
 Then in his hood I saw there faces twain,
 That one was lean and like a pined ghost,
 That other looked as he would me have slain,
 And to-me-ward as he gan for to coast,
 When that he was even at me almost,
 I saw a knife hid in his one sleeve,
 Whereon was written this word, *mischiefe*.
 And in his other sleeve, methought I saw
 A spoon of gold, full of hony sweet,
 To feed a fool, and for to prey a daw;
 And on that sleeve these words were wrote:
A false abstract cometh from a false concrete;
 His hood was side his cope, was russet grey,
 These were the words that he to me did say."

Our next extract shall be the beginning of "*The Tunning of Eleanor Rumming*," which is in Skelton's peculiar style—a style which is now generally described as *Skeltonizing*:

"Tell you I chill,
 If that ye will
 Awhile be still,
 Of a comly gill
 That dwelt on a hill,
 But she is not grill; (girl)
 For she is somewhat sage,
 And well worn in age;
 And her visage
 It would assuage
 A man's courage.
 Her lothely lere
 Is nothing clear,
 But ugly of cheer.
 Droupy and drowsy,
 Scurvy and lousy,
 Her face all bowsey;
 Comely crinkled,
 Wondrously wrinkled,
 Like a roast pig's ear
 Bristled with hair.
 Her lewd lips twain
 They slaver, men sayne,
 Like a roopy raine,
 Or a gummy glare:
 She is ugly fair,
 Her nose some deal hooked,
 And camously crooked,
 Never stopping,
 But ever dropping;
 Her skin loose and slack,
 Grained like a sack,
 With a crooked back.

Her eyn gowndy
 Are full unsoundy,
 For they are bleared,
 And she gray-haired,
 Jawed like a jetty,
 A man would have pity
 To see how she is gumm'd,
 Finger'd and thumb'd,
 Gently jointed,
 Greased and anointed
 Up to the knuckles,
 The bones her buckles
 Together made fast;
 Her youth is far past:
 Footed like a plane,
 Legs like a crane,
 And yet she will jet,
 Like a jolly set,
 In her furred flocket,
 And gray russet rocket,
 With Simper the cocket,
 Her Huke of Lincoln green,
 It had been hers, I ween,
 More than forty year,
 And so it doth appear,
 And the green bare threads
 Look like sere weeds, (dry)
 Withered like hay,
 The wool worn away,
 And yet, I dare say,
 She thinketh herself gay,
 Upon the holy day,
 When she doth her array:

And girdeth in her getes,
 Stitch'd and pranked with pleates;
 Her kirtle Bristow red,
 With cloaths upon her head,
 That they weigh a sow of lead,
 Wrythen in wondrous ways
 After the Saracen's guise;
 With a whim-wham,
 Knit with a trim-tram,
 Upon a brain pan,
 Like an Egyptian:
 Capped about,

When she goeth out
 Herself for to shew.
 She driveth down the dew
 With a pair of heels,
 As broad as two wheels:
 She hobbles as a goose,
 With her blanket hose;
 Her shoon smear'd with tallow,
 Like her face callow,
 Greas'd upon dirt
 That bandeth her skirt."

It is in the *Why come ye not to Court?* that we find the most interesting matter. We get a lively idea of Wolsey's ostentatious manner and tyrannical bearing.

Speaking of the French, the satirist says,

"But yet they overshoot us
 With crowns and with scutus,
 With scutes and crowns of gold,
 I dread we are bought and sold;
 It is a wonder's warke,
 They shoot all at one marke;
 At the cardinal's hat,
 They shoot all at that,
 Out of their strong towns,
 They shoot at him with crowns:
 With crowns of gold embias'd,
 They make him sore amaz'd,
 And his eyn so daz'd,
 That he no see can
 To know God nor man.
 He is set so high,
 In his hierarchy,
 Of frantick frenzy,
 And foolish fantasy,
 That in the chamber of stars,
 All matters there he mars;
 Clapping his rod on the board,

No man dare speak a word,
 For he hath all the saying,
 Without any renaying.
 He rolleth in his records,
 He saith, how say ye, my lords?
 Is not my reason good,
 Good even, good Robin Hood?
 Some say, Yes. And some
 Sit still as they were dumb;
 Thus thwarting over thumb
 He ruleth all the roast,
 With bragging and with boast;
 Borne up on every side
 With pomp and with pride,
 With tromp up alleluya,
 For dame Philargerya
 Hath so his heart in hold,
 He loveth nothing but gold;
 And Asmodeus of hell,
 Maketh his members swell,
 With Delilah to mel,
 That wanton damsel."

He thus goes on in his daring railing against this powerful minister:

"Once yet again,
 Of you I would fraine,
 Why come ye not to court?
 To which court?
 To the kinge's court,
 Or to Hampton court?
 Nay to the kinge's court.
 The kinge's court
 Should have the excellence,
 But Hampton court
 Hath the pre-eminence;
 And York's place,
 With my lord's grace;
 To whose magnificence,
 Is all the confluence,
 Suits, and supplications,
 Embassades of all nations;
 Straw for law canon,
 Or for the law common,
 Or for law civil,
 It shall be as he will;

Stop at law tancrete,
 An abstract or a concrete;
 Be it sour, be it sweet,
 His wisdom is so discreet,
 That in a fume or an heat,
 Warden of the fleet,
 Set him fast by the feet,
 And of his royal power,
 When him list to lour,
 Then have him to the Tower,
Sans autre remedy:
 Have him forth bye and bye,
 To the marshalsy,
 Or to the King's Bench;
 He diggeth so in the trench
 Of the court royal,
 That he ruleth them all;
 So he doth underminde,
 And such sleights doth find,
 That the king's mind
 By him is subverted,

And so straitly coarted (cowred,)
 In credencing his tales,
 That all is but nut-shales,
 That any other saith,
 He hath in him such faith.
 Now, yet all this might be
 Suffer'd and taken in gree,
 If that that he wrought
 To any good end were brought;
 But all he bringeth to nought,
 But God that me dear bought.

He beareth the king on hand,
 That he must pyl his land
 To make his coffers rich:
 But he layeth all in the ditch,
 And useth such abusion,
 That, in the conclusion,
 All cometh to confusion:
 Perceive the cause why,
 To tell the truth plainly,
 He is so ambitious,
 So shameless, and so vicious,
 And so superstitious,
 And so much oblivious,
 From whence that he came,
 That he falleth in a cisman:
 Which truly to express,
 Is a forgetfulness,
 Or wilful blindness,
 Wherewith the Sodomites
 Lost their inward sights.

The Gommor'ans, also,
 Were brought to deadly wo,
 As scripture records,
 A *cecitate cordis*:
 In the Latin, sing we,
Libera nos, Domine.
 But this mad Amalek,
 Like to Amamelek,
 He regardeth lords
 No more than potshords:
 He is in such elation,
 Of his exaltation,
 And the supportation
 Of our sovereign lord,
 That God to record,
 He ruleth all, at will,
 Without reason or skill,
 Howbeit they be primordial,
 Of his wretched original,
 And his base progeny,
 And his greasy genealogy.
 He came of the sink royal,
 That was cast out of a butcher's stall.

But, however he was born,
 Men would have the less scorn,
 If he could consider
 His birth and room together,
 And call to his mind,
 How noble and how kind,
 To him he hath found
 Our sovereign lord, chief ground
 Of all this prelacy,
 And set him nobly,

In great authority,
 Out from a low degree,
 Which he cannot see,
 For he was pardee,
 No doctor of divinity,
 Nor doctor of the law,
 Nor of none other saw,
 But a poor master of art,
 God wot! had little part
 Of the quatrivials,
 Nor yet of trivials,
 Nor of philosophy,
 Nor of philology,
 Nor of good policy,
 Nor of astronomy,
 Nor acquainted worth a fly,
 With honourable Haly,
 Nor with royal Ptolomy,
 Nor with Albumazar,
 To treat of any star,
 Fixt or yet mobile,
 His Latin tongue doth hobble,
 He doth but clout and cobble,
 In Tully's faculty,
 Called humanity:
 Yet proudly he doth pretend,
 How no man can him amend:
 But have ye not heard this,
 How a one-eyed man is
 Well sighted, when
 He is among blind men.

Then our process for to stable,
 This man was full unable
 To reach to such degree,
 Had not our princely
 Royal Henry the Eighth,
 Take him in such conceit,
 That he set him on height,
 In exemplifying
 Great Alexander the king,
 In writing as we find,
 Which, of his royal mind,
 And of his noble pleasure,
 Transcending out of measure,
 Thought to do a thing
 That pertaineth to a king,
 To make up one of nought,
 And made to him be brought
 A wretched poor man,
 Which his living wan,
 With planting of leeks,
 By the days and by the weeks;
 And of this poor vassal,
 He made a king royal,
 And gave him a realm to rule,
 That occupied a showel,
 A mattoke, and a spade,
 Before that he was made
 A king, as I have told,
 And ruled as he wold;
 Such is a king's power,
 To make within an hour,
 And work such a miracle,
 That shall be a spectacle

Of renown and worldly fame,
In likewise now the same
Cardinal is promoted,
Yet with lewd conditions noted,
As hereafter been noted.

Presumption and vain glory,
Envy, wrath, and lechery,
Covetous, and gluttony,
Slothful to do good,
Now frantick, now stark wode :
Should this man of such mode
Rule the sword of might,
How can he do right,
For he will as soon smite
His friend as his foe,
A proverb long ago.

Set up the wretch on high,
In a throne triumphantly,
Make him a great estate,
And he will play checkmate
With royal majesty ;
Count himself as good as
A prelate potential,
To rule under Belial
As fierce and as cruell
As the fiend of hell ;
His servants meniall
He doth revile and brawl,
Like Mahound in a play :
No man dare withsay.
He hath despite and scorn
At them that be well born,
He rebukes them and rails,
Ye whorsons, ye vassals,
Ye knaves, ye churls' sons,
Ye ribands, not worth two plums,
Ye rain-beaten beggars rejagged,
Ye recrayed ruffins all ragged ;
Thou peevish pie-pecked,
Thou losel long-necked,
Thus daily they be decked,
Taunted and checked,
That they are so wo,
They wot not whither to go.

No man dare come to the speech,
Of this gentle jack-breech,
Of what estate he be,
Of spiritual dignity,
Nor duke of high degree,
Nor marquess, earl, nor lord,
Which shrewdly doth accord.

Thus he, born so base,
All noblemen should outface,
His countenance like a Cæsar,
My lord is not at leisure ;
Sir, ye must tarry a stound (hour)

Till better leisure be found ;
And, sir, ye must dance attendance,
And take patient sufferance,
For my lord's grace
Hath now no time nor space
To speak with you as yet.

And thus they shall sit,
Chuse them sit or flit,
Stand, walk, or ride,
And his leisure abide
Perchance half a year,
And yet never the near.

This dangerous dowsipere,
Like a king's peer,
And within this sixteen year,
He would have been right fain
To have been a chaplain,
And have taken right great pain
With a poor knight,
Whatsoever he hight,
The chief of his own counsel,
They cannot well tell
When they with him should mell,
He is so fierce and fell :
He rails and he rates,
He calleth them doddie-pates ;
He grins and he gapes,
As it were Jack Napes,
Such a mad bedlem
For to rule this realm,
It is a wondrous case
That the king's grace
Is toward him so minded,
And so far blinded,
That he cannot perceive
How he doth him deceive ;
I doubt lest by sorcery,
Or such other loselry,
As witchcraft, or charming,
For he is the king's darling,
And his sweet hart-root,
And is governed by this mad koot :
For what is a man the better
For the king's letter ?
For he will tear it asunder,
Whereat much I wonder
How such a hoddie-poll
So boldly dare control,
And so malapertly withstand
The king's own hand,
And sets not by it a mite ;
He saith the king doth write,
And writeth he wot not what,
And yet for all that
The king his clemency
Dispenseth with his demensy."

This is certainly a sufficient specimen of this extraordinary versification—both as to matter and manner. The talents of John Skelton are easily estimated. With strong sense, a vein of humour, and some imagination, he had a wonderful command of the English language. His rhymes are interminable, and often spun out beyond the sense in the wantonness of power. In judging of this old poet, we must always

recollect the state of poetry in his time and the taste of the age, which being taken into the account, we cannot help considering Skelton as an ornament of his own time, and a benefactor to those which came after him. Let him be compared to a fine old building, which once glittered in a wanton lavishment of ornament, and revelled in the profusion of its apartments, and in the number of its winding passages, is now grown unfit for habitation, and only remains as a model of the architecture of past times, and a fit subject for the reverence and the researches of the antiquarian.

FROM THE MONTHLY REVIEW.

Sketches of India: written by an Officer for Fire-side Travellers at Home. Crown 8vo. pp. 329. 10s. 6d. Boards. Longman & Co. 1821.

THIS is a lively and picturesque tour: the author of which eminently possesses the art of exciting visual imagery by means of words, and paints with poetic vivacity the scenery, the persons, the moving bustle, and the strange impressions, which every where burst on his senses. He offers a familiar picture of Indian phenomena, invites the reader as it were to lounge in his tent or take a seat in his budgerow, and directs attention to the transient objects in his view with felicity of choice and vividness of representation.

The visit to Madras begins thus

"Those poor wretches, with no other clothing than small rags round the middle, and loads on their heads, whom you meet singly or in large groups, are the common coolies, or road-porters, of the country; for thus light burdens are usually conveyed here, even for distances of two or three hundred miles.—This haughty-looking man with a prominent nose, dark eye, and olive-brown complexion, having a large turban, muslin vest, gaudy silk trowsers, and noisy slippers, is a Mahometan.

"This next, with his head bare and shaven, except a few thick-falling locks clubbed behind, his forehead marked with stripes of the ashes of cow-dung, his naked body, clean yellow-coloured skin, the zennaar, or distinguishing threads worn over the shoulder, and a large pale salmon-coloured loin-cloth, is an officiating bramin.

"These fat-looking black men, with very white turbans and dresses, and large golden ear-rings, are dubashes; a sort of upper servants or public inferior agents, ready to make any purchases for strangers or residents; to execute their commissions, change their monies, or transact any business for them.

"These men with red turbans, broad shoulder-belts of leather, breast-plates, sashes and swords, are government-peons of the zillah, or police foot-soldiers. There are establishments of them in every district. They are distinguished by their belt-plates; the belts being often of red, blue, or yellow cloth, or even tiger-skin.

"There is a group of native women returning to their houses with water: they are of a common class; but observe their simple dress, erect carriage, and admirable walk. One piece of cloth wrapped twice round their loins in its breadth, and passing in its length upwards over the bosom, is either disposed mantle-like to cover the head, or thrown gracefully across the right shoulder, and brought under the left arm to the middle. Their shining hair is neatly rolled up into a knot at the back of the head; and is occasionally ornamented with little chaplets of pale yellow flowers. The vessels which some carry on the head, some on the hip, are of brass or clay; but ancient and urn-like in their form.

"This low, curiously carved car, with a white canopy, and cream-coloured bullocks, having their horns ornamentally tipped with wrought brass, collars with bells, and crimson body-clothes, is the conveyance of some native merchant, or shroff.

"These horsemen with red hussar jackets, high spherical-shaped caps of blue cloth richly ornamented, leather breeches, boots, and English saddles, so well mounted, and as light-coloured as Spaniards, are of the body-guard of the governor. —Observe the horse-keeper following that staff-officer: thus the groom runs after his master in this country, and will keep pace with him at a smart canter. He is always provided with a leading rein and chowrie.*

"These well-appointed black soldiers, clothed and accoutred so completely like British troops, except the peculiar cap of blue cloth with brazen ornaments and plates, are sepoy of the Madras establishment."

After having visited Cudapah, the author becomes stationary at Belhary, where he thus delineates a Mohammedan festival:

"On the last night of the Mohurram, a Mahometan festival, I walked out after dark in a white jacket, went alone into the large pettah outside the fort, and mingled with the crowds on foot, that I might fairly see the people, as it were, in their joyous undress character: for, when you ride among them, or are borne in your palanquin, you labour under many disadvantages for close observation.

"A fine noisy tumultuous scene it was. I first met an immense crowd carrying a sort of light ornamental temple, made of pasteboard, talc, and gauze, and painted and gilt with much taste. At the head of this crowd were groups of tumblers, and men with ornaments and bells on their legs, dancing like our morrice-dancers; there were also several low masks, such as men naked, their bodies painted like tigers, and led in chains by others, either crawling on all-fours, or roaring and springing about amidst the crowd; others daubed over with a shining African black colour, and armed with short staves, imitating negro combats and dances.

"Then several hundred Mahometans (most in our army), with glittering sabres, black shields, and in their native dresses; turbans of green, red, purple, pale blue, rose, brown, and all colours; large wide trousers of silk, of the gaudiest patterns, and many with shawls thrown over one shoulder. Nearer the Tazier, were groups of dancing girls, covered with joys, and dressed in showy muslins and silks, with round golden embossed plates on the back of the head. Numbers of insolent-looking Fakirs, and a vast concourse of people of all casts and classes.

"All these distinctly seen at night-time, by the light of innumerable torches, matchlocks firing off, rockets flying, the few natives who had horses galloping and prancing round the crowd, and one huge elephant, borrowed from our commissariat to make up the procession, gave a very lively picture of an eastern festival. As I walked in the bazaar, I came upon a crowd, one minute attentively silent, the next merrily talkative. I pushed among them, and found an exhibition of the magic-lantern kind: in light, colouring, and motion, it was exceedingly well managed. The representations were combats between natives and English; now groups of horsemen, now of foot; now a single combat. The showman explained every scene, with many coarse jokes which I could not understand, but which took vastly with the crowd. The British were *always beaten*, especially in the horse-encounters, and their figures and dress were much caricatured. Had I been known, I should perhaps have been insulted, but with my hat over my eyes, and a handkerchief held generally to my face, I was probably taken for a half-caste Christian. Fruits, sweetmeats, sherbet, arrack, and toddy, were selling every where. In many places were large shallow pits filled with fires, round which circles of Moors brandishing their naked swords danced a sort of war-dance in honour of the victorious Ali; singing and shouting at every pause 'Ali, Ali!' Occasionally too, one or other of them leaped into and through the fire with looks and gestures half frantic. Walking on, you will see at the corner of one street tumblers, at another dancing girls; here singers and music, there a story-teller with a party squatted round him. In short, every thing wore a festive pleasure-seeking air; and, in spite of the difference of climate, religion, laws, and education, we find the materials in which the heart of man seeks the coarse gratifications suited to it in its natural state are pretty much the same all over the world. Noise, glitter, show, vanity of dress, and indulgence of animal appetite. Portsdown fair has its booths, stages, merry-andrews, puppet-shows, jessamy waistcoats, and flaring ribands. Portman Square, the Opera-house, the theatres, and Vauxhall, have corresponding pleasures suited to tastes a little,

* "The chowrie is a fly-flap, made of the singularly bushy tail of the Boota cow."

and often *but a little* more refined. And I could remind, or perhaps inform the fashionable gamester of St. James's Street, that before England ever saw a dice-box, many a main has been won and lost under a palm-tree, in Malacca, by the half-naked Malays, with wooden and painted dice; and that he could not pass through a bazaar in this country without seeing many parties playing with cards, most cheaply supplied to them by leaves of the cocoa-nut, or palm-tree, dried, and their distinctive characters traced with an iron style.

"Such features of general resemblance in their manners have the enlightened inhabitants of Europe, and the poor ignorant crowds of Hindostan!"

The ruins of Bijanagur are depicted with eloquent melancholy. A religious turn occasionally overspreads the reflections of the author, who seems to be a disciple of the missionaries, and has a horror of idolatry which is somewhat dangerous to tolerance. The declamations, in point of style, resemble those of Volney, but the inference is precisely the reverse.

Nundidroog, Bangalore, the Nackenairy pass through the Ghauts, the garden of Sautghur, (inhabited by a Mohammedan priest one hundred years old,) and the fort of Vellore, are successively described; after which the author embarks for Calcutta. His sketch of this important metropolis is very animated, but too long for our limits; and indeed the city has been often described. From Calcutta, he proceeded to Benares by water, in the month of September, when the river was in high beauty. The first place of note is Berhampore; the next, Cassimbuzar; and then, Moorsheadabad. A silk factory is visited at Jungypore; and the ruins of Gour, the ancient metropolis of Bengal, are examined, which overspread an extent of fifteen miles:—among them, dwells at Gomalty a pious individual who has translated the Gospels into Bengallee. Rajemahl, Bogliipoor, Sultangung, Monghyr, (near to which is a hot well,) and Patna, are successive mooring-places. Ghazipoor calls for some attention: but at length the author reaches Benares, the holy city, the ancient seat of Braminical learning, and still the school of Hindoo theology. If the exceptionable rites of the Hindoos are to be abolished by native and voluntary reformation, it is through the teachers at this university that the new interpretations of the sacred texts must be insinuated.

"The very first aspect of Benares is fine; and, when you come opposite to one of its central ghauts, very striking. It extends about four miles along the northern bank of the river, which makes here a bold sweeping curve. Its buildings, which are crowded, built of stone or brick, and uniquely lofty; its large ghauts, with long and handsome flights of steps; here and there, the sculptured pyramidal tops of small pagodas; one mosque, with its gilded dome glittering in the sun-beam; and two proud and towering minars, rising one above another, form a grand and imposing *coup d'œil*. I landed, dismissed my boat, and proceeded to the house of a friend at Secrole; which is the station of our civil and military servants.

"The city is only to be visited on horseback, or in a palanquin. I decided, at the recommendation of my friend, on a tonjon, or open sedan-chair; as thus only can you leisurely survey every thing, from the extreme narrowness of the streets, and the crowds in them, through whom your way must be cleared by a police-trooper in your front.

"In the heart of this strange city, you are borne through a labyrinth of lanes, with houses of six or seven stories high on either side, communicating with each other above, in some places, by small bridges thrown across the street. These houses are of stone or brick; and many of them are painted either in plain colours or stripes, or with representations of the Hindoo deities. Every bazaar or street containing shops, you find a little, and but a little, wider than the others. Shops here stand in distinct and separate streets, according to their goods and trades. In one, all are embroiderers in muslin, which they work here in gold and silver most

beautifully; in another, silk merchants; in another are displayed shawls; in some, shops filled only with slippers; in one, jewel-merchants; in the next, mere lapidaries. Several contiguous streets are filled entirely with the workmen in brass, who make the small brazen idols; also the various urns, dishes, vessels, lamps, which the Hindoos require either for domestic or sacred purposes. These shops make a very bright and showy display; and, from the ancient forms, various sizes and patterns of their vessels, attract your attention strongly. You meet numbers of the naked officiating brahmins indeed, but you also see here a distinct class of wealthy brahmins, most richly dressed in fine muslin turbans, vests of the most beautiful silks, and valuable shawls. Their conveyances out of the city are the open native palanquins, with crimson canopies; or hackrees, sometimes very handsome; and drawn by two showy horses, with long flowing manes.

"The women in Benares (for many of high cast fetch all their own water) are beautifully formed, wear garments of the richest dyes, and walk most gracefully. But these are minor features;—innumerable Hindoo youth, of high cast, are sent hither for education. They have not colleges or schools, but reside six or seven in each brahmin's or pundit's house, and pursue the studies which he enjoins. There are eight thousand houses in Benares, belonging to brahmins: what number may receive students I know not; perhaps not more than one thousand.

"He who has looked upon the pagodas of the south of India, is quite surprised to find those of Benares so few in number, so small and inconsiderable. The principal one is covered with much beautiful sculpture, representing fancy flower-and-wreath borderings. I went into it. During the whole time I remained, there was a constant succession of worshippers; for, except on festivals, they visit their temples at any hour they please or find convenient. This temple is dedicated to Mahadeva; and has several altars, with lingams of large size and beautiful black marble. It has two fine statues of the bull of Siva couchant; and, small as the temple was, three or four Brahminy bulls were walking about in it, stopping in the most inconvenient places. All the floor was one slop, from the water used at the offerings; and the altars, shrines, &c. were quite covered with flowers, glistening with the waters of the Ganges. The only thing in the temple, which was to me novel, was a small representation in brass of Surya, the Indian Apollo, standing up in his car, and drawn by a seven-headed horse. The arched crests and eager bend of their necks were exceedingly well executed. It appeared to me to stand neglected in the temple; and none of the priests seemed to have any feeling of particular interest about it."

It is stated at p. 221, that a British General in the Company's service has become a sincere convert to Hindooism; that he makes offerings at their temples, carries about their idols with him, and is attended by fakirs, who dress his food according to their law.

The track of the author proceeds from Allahabad to Cawnpore, to Kanoge, to the Jumna, and to the tomb of Acbar, the most exquisite perhaps in existence, except the TaaJe Mahal, of which the description follows:

"In the afternoon of this day, I drove to visit the TaaJe Mahal. It is indeed the crown of edifices. As I drew near I could not take my eyes from its dome, white with such cold calm lustre as sheds the pure unsullied top of a snow-crowned mountain.

"I could not pause at the magnificent gateway; I could not loiter as I paced up the garden; till, from near a basin in the centre, where fountains murmur and play, the view of a lofty and polished dome of marble, and of the graceful and elegant detached minars of the same beautiful material, Parian in whiteness, rising above a thick bed of dark foliage, formed by the intervening trees, arrested my step, and fixed for several minutes my admiring gaze.

"I thence moved slowly forward, ascended the terraced area on which the building stands, and walked, wherever I trod, on marble.

"The front of this splendid mausoleum, adorned with borderings of flowers, and headed by inscriptions from the Koran, the former executed with due attention to colouring and form, both of leaf and flower, entirely inlaid with stones more or less precious, and the latter composed of Arabic characters cut with freedom and boldness out of the blackest marble, and then closely and beautifully set into the white,

perfectly astonishes you. But, when led within the dome, where stand two small sarcophagi covered with the most delicate mosaic, and surrounded by walls of mosaic to correspond, without a leaf, a flower, or a petal wanting: when you see cornelians, agates, blood-stones, opals, pebbles, and marbles of all colours wrought into the finest mosaic, and producing an effect at once rich, chaste, and so perfectly natural, that the easier art of the painter seems mocked, you are silent. They tell you, and they tell you truly, that it is the most superb mausoleum in the world. Pride must have been ingenious in devising a work so costly, and the artist must have laboured with delighted wonder, as the precious materials for this sumptuous edifice were displayed in rich abundance before him. Perhaps there never was exhibited in any work of the same size such a regardless disdain of the expense which might be incurred.

"The whole, whether seen inside or out, looks as if the scaffolding had not long been cleared away, and it was just fresh from the hands of the architect.

"The delicacy may be in some degree guessed, by those who have never seen it, from the expression of Zophani, an Italian painter, who, after gazing long upon it with fixed admiration, said, that it wanted nothing but a glass-case of sufficient magnitude to cover and protect it.

"I visited it again by moonlight; a light soft, and well adapted to give effect to the cold clear polish of the dome. I also passed a long solitary day, either in minutely examining its beauties within, or viewing it from without, while seated under a shady tree near one of the garden-fountains. At every visit I felt more strongly, that to describe the *Taaje*, at once so chaste and so splendid as it is, would be a task, either for pen or pencil, impossible. But after all, how poor, how mean are the associations connected with it! It is a monument of the boundless exactions of a beauty's vanity; of the yielding folly of a proud voluptuous slave-governed sensualist; for such was Shah Jehan,—a prince who made his way to the throne of the Moguls by the murder of a brother and four nephews; and who shed the blood of one-half of his subjects, to secure the trembling obedience of the other. The close of a debauched life he passed as the degraded captive of his hypocritical son, Aurungzebe. Here, under these beautiful sarcophagi, in this noble mausoleum, lie Shah Jehan and his favourite Begum, side by side."

Agra, Delhi, Nurabad, Gualior, Narwha, Dungee, the river Sind, Siparry, Kalarrus, the province of Malwah, Nya Serai, Seronge, Bhilsah, Bahsein, Husseinabad, and Tikaree, are noticed in passing; and the author returns through Ellichpoor to the Nerbuddah, visits Hingolee, Mongrolee, Bassim, Kair, where he passes the Godavery, takes the route of Bedeer, visits the mausoleum of Ameer Bereed, and terminates his circuit at Hyderabad.

FROM THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

WALKING STEWART.

THERE are several kinds of pedestrians, all celebrated and interesting in their way.—There is the man who does his match against Time, and generally sacrifices that which he walks against;—there are ghosts, who are proverbial for *walking*, when they have something on their own minds, or are bent on having something upon the minds of those they choose to visit;—there is the mighty *Eidouranian* lecturer, as great a *Walker* as any we have recorded;—and there are the postmen, two-penny and upwards (as they say of the pencil-cases in the windows);—insolvents;—placard-bearers in the city;—hackney-coach horses;—Scotch tourists;—and many, many others,—all intense walkers! The Walkers, indeed, like the lichens, are a vast *genus*, with an endless variety of *species*; but alas! the best and most singular of the tribe is gone! We are almost sure that the name of our loss is already anticipated in the minds of our readers—for who, that ever weathered

his way over Westminster bridge, has not seen *Walking Stewart* (his invariable cognomen) sitting in the recess on the brow of the bridge, spencered up to his throat and down to his hips with a sort of garment, planned, it should seem, to stand *powder*, as became the habit of a military man; his dingy dusty inexpressibles—(really inexpressibles),—his boots, travel-stained, black up to his knees,—and yet not black neither—but arrant walkers both of them, or their complexion belied them; his aged, but strongly marked, manly, and air-ripened face, steady as truth; and his large irregular dusty hat, that seemed to be of one mind with the boots? We say, who does not thus remember *Walking Stewart*, sitting, and leaning on his stick, as though he had never walked in his life, but had taken his seat on the bridge at his birth, and had grown old in his sedentary habit? To be sure this view of him is rather negatived, by as strong a remembrance of him, in the same spencer and accompaniments of hair-powder and dust, resting on a bench in the Park, with as perfectly an eternal air:—nor will the memory let him keep a quiet, constant seat here for ever; recalling him, as she is wont, in his shuffling slow perambulation of the Strand, or Charing-cross, or Cockspur-street. Where really was he?—You saw him on Westminster bridge, acting his own monument.—You went into the Park: he was there! fixed, as the gentleman at Charing-cross.—You met him, however, at Charing-cross, creeping on like the hour-hand upon a dial, getting rid of his rounds and his time at once! Indeed his ubiquity appeared enormous—and yet not so enormous as the profundity of his sitting habits. He was a profound sitter! Could the Pythagorean system be entertained, what a hen would now be tenanted by *Walking Stewart*! Truly, he seemed always going, like a lot at an auction;—and yet always at a stand, like a hackney-coach! Oh! what a walk was his, to christen a man by!—a slow, lazy, scraping, creeping, gazing pace!—a shuffle!—a walk in its dotage!—a walk at a stand-still!—yet was he a pleasant man to meet. We remember his face distinctly, and, allowing a little for its northern hardness, it was certainly as wise, as kindly, and as handsome a face, as ever crowned the shoulders of a soldier, a scholar, and a gentleman.

Well!—*Walking Stewart* is dead!—He will no more be seen en-niched in Westminster bridge;—or keeping his terms as one of the Benchers of St. James's Park;—or haunting the pavement with moving but unlifted feet. In vain we look for him "at the hour when he was wont to walk." The niche in the bridge is empty of its amiable statue—and as he is gone from this spot, he is gone from all—for he was ever all in all!—Three persons seem departed in him.—In him, there seems to have been a triple death!—He was *Mrs. Malaprop's* "Cerberus—three gentlemen at once!"—As it was the custom in other times to have several leaders dressed alike in a battle,—"*Six Richmonds* in the field,"—so does it appear to have been the case, that there were three *Walking Stewarts* in the strife of London. We wish one could have been spared!—But the trio ceased its music of humanity at once. There was a glee of three parts,—and it was stopped!—*Walking Stewart* is dead!

We have been tempted "to consecrate a passage" to him, as *John Bunkle* expresses it, from our regard for the man, and from the opportunity which a whimsical little book,—a tiny pamphlet,—allows us of giving a few particulars of his life and travels. We cannot spare much

room, but we will take care that he rests as comfortably in a nook of our Magazine, as ever he sat in the stone arbour of Westminster bridge.

The pamphlet we have alluded to professes to be *The Life and Adventures of the celebrated Walking Stewart, including his Travels in the East Indies, Turkey, Germany, and America*:—and the author, who states himself to be “a Relative,” has contrived to outdo his subject in getting over the ground, for he manages to close his work at the end of the sixteenth page!—This is a famous lesson of condensation—and we will attend to it rigidly.

John Stewart, or Walking Stewart, was born of two Scotch parents, in 1749, in London, and was in due time sent to Harrow, and thence to the Charter House,—where he established himself as a dunce—no bad promise in a boy we think!—He left school, and was sent to India, as a few others of his father’s countrymen were about the same time. Here his character and energies unfolded themselves, as his biographer tells us, for his mind was unshackled by education.

He resolved to amass £3,000 and then to return to England. No bad resolve! To attain this sum he quitted the Company’s service and entered Hyder Ally’s. He now turned soldier, and became a general. Hyder’s generals were easily made and unmade. Stewart behaved well and bravely, and paid his regiment without draw-backs, which made him popular. Becoming wounded somehow, and having no great faith in Hyder’s surgeons (a sensible misgiving), he begged leave to join the English for medical advice. Hyder gave a Polonius kind of permission, quietly determining to cut the traveller and his journey as short as possible,—for his own sake, and that of the invalid. Stewart sniffed the intention of Ally (he knew, as we know, that all *Allies* are suspicious)—and taking an early opportunity of cutting his company before they could cut him, he popped into a river, literally swam for his life, reached the bank, ran before his hunters like an antelope, and arrived safely at the European forts. He got in breathless, and lived;—an English surgeon cured him.

Hitherto he had saved little money. He now entered the Nabob of Arcot’s service, and became Prime Minister. The sixteen pages of “the Relative’s” letter-press do not say how. They treat only of effects—causes are out of their sphere.

At length he took leave of India, and travelled over Persia and Turkey *on foot* (in search of a name it should seem, or, as he was wont to say, “*in search of the Polarity of Moral Truth*?”) and after many adventures (why are not one or two of them related?) arrived in England. He brought home some money, and some “doctrines,” as his biographer calls them—but what these “doctrines” were, we are left to surmise. He commenced his London life in an Armenian dress, “to attract attention;” but finding the people not very hungry after his philosophy, he resolved on enlightening the Americans, who refused his mental glass as perversely.

The Relative here drops the narrative, and tries his hand at the philosophical—but we do not get a very clear notion of his meaning.

Stewart, on his return from America, “made the tour of Scotland, Germany, Italy and France, on foot, and ultimately settled in Paris,” where he made friends. He intended to live there; but, after investing his money in French property, he smelt the sulphur cloud of the

Revolution, and retreated as fast as possible, losing considerable property in his flight. He returned to London,—and suddenly and unexpectedly received £10,000, from the India Company, on the liquidation of the debts of the Nabob of Arcot. He bought annuities, and fattened his yearly income. The Relative, in speaking of these annuities, says, oddly enough,

“One of his annuities was purchased from the County Fire Office, at a rate, which, at the end, was proved to have been paid three, and nearly four times over. The calculation of the life gentry was here completely at fault: every quarter brought Mr. Stewart regularly at the cashier's, whom he accosted with, “Well, man alive! I am come for my money.” This matter formed one of Mr. Stewart's pleasures, for he well knew how his longevity disagreed with these ‘speculators of death.’”

Mr. Stewart now gave entertainments—had musical parties—conversaziones—dinners. The writer is a little more distinct here.

“This sudden and large increase of wealth enabled Mr. Stewart to commence a series of entertainments, calculated to afford the highest treat to those friends and acquaintances by whom he was surrounded. Every evening a conversazione was held at his house, enlivened by music; and on Sundays, he gave dinner, to a select few, who were likewise gratified, in addition, by a discourse from the philosopher; and in the evening, a concert of vocal music was added for the guests' pleasure. This generally consisted of sacred music selected from Handel's compositions, to which the philosopher was highly partial. He often turned to the person seated nearest him, and would descant on the wonderful merit of this great master, whose music combined melody with harmony, making the latter subservient, a rule in the present day totally neglected by professors, who sacrifice all for science, betraying little or no melody in their subjects. These concerts always concluded with the dead march in Saul, another favourite of the philosopher, who gave it the most serious attention.

Stewart was attached to the King—and lived peaceably, until the late Queen's arrival,—when the deputations of Operative Sawyers, and other mechanical movements, alarmed Stewart, and awakened his walking propensities again. His friends had great difficulty to prevent him from going to America. He smoked another revolution. He wrote a letter in the Sun, and became easier.

“The Relative” says that “the declination of Mr. Stewart's health was apparent to his friends in 1821,” that is, he began to get ill. He went to Margate—returned—became worse—and, on the Ash Wednesday of that year, gave up the ghost. Perhaps he is Walking Stewart still!

Stewart was, in youth, remarkably strong and handsome;—indeed his name bespeaks the first, and his face vouched, even in its age, for the latter. To all entreaties from friends that he would write his travels, he replied, no;—that his were the travels of the mind. He, however, wrote essays, and gave lectures on the philosophy of the mind. It is very odd that men will not tell what they know, and will attempt to talk of what they do not know. He never married.

“The Relative” ends his book with the following odd passage. He reasons in so original a style, that we sincerely hope the Edinburgh Reviewers will not strangle his sixteen little pages.

“Thus gentle reader, I have, I trust, imparted every known occurrence, connected with the life of so singular a man; and as I can assert with a safe conscience, no one possessed Mr. Stewart's confidence but myself, any future publication of his life, in whatever shape it may appear, I pronounce a forgery upon the public. As most probably whatever profit may accrue from the sale of this pamphlet will be devoted to some charitable purpose, and as my bookseller (vide the title page),

who sells all English and Foreign books remarkably cheap, which is owing to his importing the French and Italian books from Paris direct, has generously volunteered to bring this work out free of remuneration, I am in hope it will not be construed into presumption to solicit the clemency of those merciless rogues the Edinburgh Reviewers, who with that acrimony so peculiar to critics who have the false idea that their profession necessarily compels them, butcher-like, to cut up: however, they do at times some good to us poor authors, as my readers are aware the comparison well suits, viz. that sheep when cut up sell quicker than when left to themselves: but I think that my brother author (for all authors are brethren) Byron has pretty well dusted their jackets, and however they may receive this 'gift horse,' I certainly (whether they attack me or no) shall not fatigue myself by giving to them any practical lesson of the 'Polarity of the Gluteis;' reserving for a future day my refutation of their incongruous remarks on 'Brande's Inflammable Gases,' vide Edin. Rev. vol. 34.

"The Relative," considering his professed means, is no very eminent biographer. He is evidently attached to the House of Stewart, and is an amiable, eccentric man; but he overrates what he knows, or keeps his knowledge sadly to himself. We should advise him, if he really remembers much of his relation, to put the materials into the hands of a clever man, and suffer the Life and Adventures of Walking Stewart to be written by some one who will do him justice.

FROM LA BELLE ASSEMBLEE.

MERMAIDS.—AN ESSAY.

BEFORE I enter upon this subject, I must take leave to mention, that though this supposed animal is always spoken of as a *Mermaid*, all the writers on this subject concur in the belief of a *Merman* also. However, at the first view it may seem improbable, that an animal should exist in the water, with the formation external and internal of the human species; yet when we look around us, and perceive apes and baboons among animals resembling man, so closely as to have been mistaken for him, we are led to believe it possible that our prototypes may be also found among fishes. The authorities on this subject are innumerable. That they *have* existed, if we do not entirely reject human testimony, (and what else have we to rely upon) we must believe, that they *do* exist recent circumstances tend to show. I would here beg to remark, that the non-existence of an animal at present, is by no means a proof that it never did exist. Our fertile plains were at one period the haunts of wolves—their numbers were boundless—their race, however, was exterminated—not by a migration, but by the hands of the natives, might not then the race of mermaids by some means have become extinct? Pliny says, "that the ambassadors to Augustus from Gaul, declared that sea-women were often seen in their neighbourhood." Solinus, and Aulus Gellius, speak also of their existence.

There are innumerable facts in history, not nearly so well attested, that have never been called in question, which this subject on which every nation has some tradition, has been continually doubted.

It is related in the *Histoire d'Angleterre*, part I. page 403, that in the year 1187, a Merman was "fished up" in the county of Suffolk, and kept by the governor for six months; it was exactly like a man in every respect, and wanted nothing but speech. He never could be

brought to any understanding of his nature or situation, and at length made his escape, and was seen to plunge into the sea, from whence he returned no more.

In 1430, in the great tempests which destroyed the dykes in Holland, some women at Edam, in West-freezeland, saw a Mermaid, who had been driven by the waters into the meadows which were overflowed. They took it, and (as it is said,) *dressed it in female attire, and taught it to spin.* It fed on cooked meat, but all efforts to teach it to speak, proved ineffectual, though Parival says, "it had some notion of a deity, and *made its reverences very devoutly* when it passed a crucifix.* It was taken to Haerlem, where it lived some years, but it ever retained an inclination for the water. At its death it was allowed Christian burial.

In 1560, on the coast of Ceylon, some fishermen caught at one draught of their nets, 7 Mermen and Mermaids.† They were dissected, and found made exactly like human beings. For a full account of this last circumstance, see the *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, part 2d. t. No. 276.

In 1531, a Merman, caught in the Baltic, was sent to Sigismond, king of Poland, with whom, says the account, he lived three days, and was seen by the whole court; but whether he died or escaped at the end of that period, we cannot say. But in some tracts published by John Gregory, A.M. and chaplain of Christ Church Oxford, in 1650, this identical Merman is described, "as a huge animal of the human form, but very much resembling a bishop in his pontificals." A German engraving of this being I have seen, it is extremely curious.

Georgius Trapezantius declares that he himself saw a Mermaid, extremely beautiful, rise many times above water; he adds, that in Epirus, a Merman came on the shore, and watched near a spring of water, endeavouring to catch young women that came there; he was caught, but could not be made to eat.

Maillet in his *Teliamede*, speaks of a Merman which was seen by the whole of a French ship's crew, off Newfoundland, in 1730, for some hours. The account was signed by all the crew that could write, and was sent to the Comte de Maurepas on the 8th September, 1725.

This story we must either give implicit credit to, or we must believe in the possibility of a large body of men wantonly asserting a falsehood, from which they could reap no possible advantage. Two or three men might have their senses deceived by some false appearance, or such a number might confederate to propagate an untruth; but the testimony of a ship's crew, when we consider the usual want of unanimity, and the utter impossibility of their being deceived, we cannot doubt.

Some writers imagine, that the Trichecus or Walrus, is the animal that has been mistaken for, or called a Mermaid; there is one species

* Admitting this to be true, it might arise from the habit of imitation so powerfully displayed in apes and other animals.

† This family party of Mermen, &c. seems rather doubtful, when we consider the weight they would be in the act of drawing in merely, to say nothing of the increasing difficulty that must be occasioned by their resistance. The coast of Ceylon seems by this number, a nursery for them, unless we are to suppose they had assembled for some mystical purpose peculiar to themselves, and this opinion is strengthened by the remembrance of their being a magical number—7.

of Walrus that seems to come near the general conception of these animals, it has two fore feet, but no hind ones, but has a tail like a whale's, and frequents the African and American seas; the females have two teats near the arm pits, with which (says Steller,) they suckle their young; there are many varieties of the species, and they differ in size from 8 to 23 feet. The natives of America, it is said, tame them, and they delight in music (from this circumstance, an ingenious French writer supposes them to be the dolphins of the ancients). Peter Martyr speaks of one that lived on the lake of Hispaniola for twenty-five years, which was so tame, that it would come to the edge of the shore, if called, and perform the part of a ferry, carrying several persons at a time on its back to the opposite shore. In answer to this, it may be observed, that no writers that have treated on this subject, ever pretended that Mermaids were larger than the human species; whereas, the smallest Walrus, is supposed to be full 8 feet; besides the Walrus is a clumsy and disgusting looking animal, the Mermaid has been always described as very beautiful; the Walrus has two tusks in its head, the Mermaid, long flowing hair.

At the same time it may be remarked, that there is an animal, (though I cannot agree in calling it a species of the Walrus, as some mazologists have done,) called the *manati* or *sea-ape*, or according to others, the *siren*, its length about 5 feet, its head like that of a dog, the eyes large, the body round and thick, tapering downwards, it will swim and play round a vessel, but dives upon the least alarm. Steller speaks of one he saw, who gazed awhile at his ship, sitting erect with one-third of its body above water, then darted under the vessel, and appeared on the other side, repeating this many times.

In the last part of the Philosophical Transactions, Sir Everard Home has given an account of the *dugong*, (a species of tricheus, found in the Indian seas,) which he supposes to be the Merman, of the old writers; as he describes the animal, it seems to approach the *manati* more than any other, but I confess his arguments seem very inconclusive, and leave this subject involved in as much mystery as ever.

It is the misfortune of those who labour to support a new theory, that they are attacked by ridicule, instead of argument. Writers of learning have been stigmatized for their credulity, even where the evidence on which they relied, has been irrefragable. The differences between the Walrus, Manati, and Dugong, and the accounts of the Merman or Mermaid, are so many, that I own I feel surprised an intelligent man should suppose any of them to be this wonder creating animal. In a work called a Discourse on Newfoundland, the writer says, "I saw a strange creature come swimming towards me, looking cheerfully on my face, as it had been a woman, by the face, eyes, nose, mouth, chin, ears, neck, and forehead, it seemed to be so beautiful, and in those parts so well proportioned, having about the head blue streaks, resembling hair, but certainly it was not hair; the shoulders and back were square, white, and smooth, as the back of a man, and from the middle to the end, it tapered like a broad hooked arrow." With this description, (excepting with regard to the hair,) almost all the accounts I have met with, seem to agree. In 1670, one seen off the *Faroe Islands*, is described as having "long hair, hanging from her head round her, to the surface of the water."

In 1716, a creature was seen 15 feet long, exactly like a man in all other respects, who traversed the sea-beach, so that all persons feared him, he appeared many days, and endeavoured to catch some women who approached him, but he at length returned to the sea. (This account may be found in the newspapers of that year, and is well worthy the perusal of the curious, it is attested by numerous eye witnesses.)*

Some American fishers, on a calm night, perceived a Mermaid coming into their vessel, fearing it might be a mischievous fish, they struck its hand off, which fell within board; the creature sunk but rose again, giving a sigh like a human being feeling pain, the hand was like that of a man.

Valentyn describes a Mermaid he saw in 1714, on his voyage from Batavia to Europe, sitting on the surface of the water, with its back towards them, the body was half above water, and was of a grizzly colour, like the skin of a codfish, it had breasts, and was shaped like a woman above the waist, and from thence downwards went tapering off to a point.

The existence of this animal is firmly believed in the northern parts of Scotland, and in the year 1797, a schoolmaster of Thurso, affirmed that he had seen one, apparently in the act of combing its hair with its fingers, the portion of the animal which he saw, was so near a resemblance to the form of a woman, that but for the impossibility of a female so long supporting herself in the waves, he should have presumed it to have been one. Twelve years afterwards, several persons observed near the same place a like appearance.

I shall now proceed to more recent instances.

In 1811, the following deposition was made by one John M'Isaac, (and it was corroborated by the evidence of a child, who was too young to plot a tale, to deceive the skilful interrogators by whom he was examined.)

"That on Sunday, the 13th October, having taken a walk towards the sea side, he came to the edge of the precipice above the shore, from which he saw the appearance of something white upon a black rock, at some distance from him. That having approached nearer to the rock, he observed this white object moving, which excited his curiosity so much, that he resolved to get as near to it as possible unperceived; that in order to accomplish this purpose, he crept upon all fours through a field of corn, till he got among the rocks near to the white object above mentioned, and then from rock to rock, until he came within 12 or 15 paces of the rock on which it lay; that, upon

* Lord Monboddo has also, I believe, mentioned this circumstance. I own I have been restrained from referring to his lordship's works, from the circumstance of his having been generally considered as a wholesale dealer in the marvellous, but this opinion is ill-founded. His lordship was an able metaphysician, and an accomplished scholar. Those who may have been misled by the received notion of the tendency of this author's works, will find themselves agreeably undeceived, on perusing his "*Ancient Metaphysics*," and his "*Origin of Language*," the subject of the present essay, he has treated in a masterly manner. The puny critics of the day, who delighted in endeavouring to reduce to their own intellectual level, the productions of genius, are now in their graves: so, alas! is his lordship; but their venom, like the poison of the adder, remains after the reptile is no more. As this is an age of improvement, and not of prejudice, we trust this author will receive the justice so long denied him. He was an able writer, a learned and upright judge, a fosterer of genius, and above all, a charitable and good man.

looking at this object with attention, he was impressed with great surprise and astonishment at its uncommon appearance; that it lay flat on the rock, seemingly upon its belly, with its head towards the sea; that the upper part of it was white, and of the shape of a human body, and the other half, towards the tail, of a brindled or reddish grey colour, apparently covered with scales, but the extremity of the tail itself was of a greenish red shining colour.

"That the head of this animal was covered with long hair, and as the wind blew off the land, it sometimes raised the hair over this creature's head, and every time the gust of the wind would do this, the animal would lean towards one side, and taking up the opposite hand, would stroke the hair backwards, and then leaning on the other side, would adjust the hair on the opposite side of its head in the same manner; that at the same time the animal would put back the hair on both sides of its head in this manner; it would also spread or extend its tail, like a fan to a considerable breadth, and while so extended, the tail continued in tremulous motion, and when drawn together again, it remained motionless, and appeared to be about 12 or 14 inches broad, laying flat upon the rock.

"That the hair which was long, and light brown in the colour, attracted his particular notice, that the animal upon the whole, was between four and five feet long, as near as he could judge; that it had a head, hair, arms, and body, down to the middle, like a human being, only that the arms were short in proportion to the body, which appeared to be about the thickness of that of a young lad, and tapering gradually to the point of the tail; that at the time it was stroking its head, as above mentioned, the fingers were kept close together, so he could not say whether they were webbed or not; that he continued concealed looking at the animal for near two hours, the part of the rock on which it lay being dry all that time; that after the sea had so far retired, as to leave the rock dry, to the height of five feet above the surface of the water, the animal leaning first on one hand and arm, and then upon the other, drew its body forward to the edge of the rock, and then tumbled clumsily into the sea; that the deponent immediately got upon his feet, from the place of his concealment, and in about a minute after, he observed the animal appearing above water, very near to the said rock, and then for the first time, he saw its face, every feature of which he could distinctly mark, and which to him, had all the appearance of a human being, with very hollow eyes, (and being particularly interrogated depones) that the cheeks were of the same colour with the rest of the face; that the neck was short, and the animal was constantly with both hands stroking and washing its breast, which was half immersed in water, and of which, of course, he had but an imperfect view; that for this reason, he cannot say whether its bosom was formed like a woman's or not. That he saw no other fins or feet, upon the said animal, but as above described.

"That this animal continued above water, as aforesaid, for a few minutes, and then disappeared, and was seen no more by him; that one of his reasons for lying so long concealed, as above described, was from the expectation that the ebb tide would leave the rock, and that part of the shore dry, before the animal would move from it, and that he would be then able to secure it."

In August, 1812, a Mermaid was seen about one mile S. E. of Ex-

mouth-bar; (for an account of which, see the Exeter paper of that time.)

It must be in the recollection of most persons, that in the autumn of 1819, a creature appeared on the coast of Ireland, about the size of a child of ten years of age, with a bosom as prominent as a girl of sixteen, having long dark hair, and full dark eyes. I shall not transcribe the account, as it will doubtless be well remembered, but it may be right to add, for the satisfaction of those who have not seen it, that a spectator endeavoured to shoot it, but on the report of the musket, it plunged into the sea, with a loud scream.

The differences observed in the accounts of this animal, are usually as to colour, and its being with or without hair. I confess it does not seem unreasonable to me, to presume these circumstances to be the effect of climate; and the difference between the male and female. It will be observed, that we have accounts of this animal in all parts of the globe, therein approaching man, who is the *only creature that is found in every climate*. When we perceive that of most animals, there are several species, by a parity of reasoning, we may conceive there are several of this; and this may reconcile many incongruities that occur in different relations.

The Merman of 1187, that sent to the King of Poland in 1531, and the creature seen in 1716, differ from others, inasmuch as they do not end in a tail like a fish; for this, I own myself incapable of assigning a reason. I can only exclaim, "behold the evidence."

The existence of the Unicorn was long reckoned a fable, and yet the head of an animal recently imported, bears so close a resemblance to the relations of this animal, that our most skilful naturalists have pronounced it to be the same. If for so many hundred years, the existence of a quadruped, has been a matter of speculative inquiry, when man has the power of traversing the place of its habitation, and by the progress of the arts of piercing its deepest recesses; how much more probable is it, that a creature should exist in the bosom of the ocean, *with which we are not perfectly acquainted*. When we consider that in the depths of the waters, we have no reach, no power of visual observation, or means of pursuing inquiry; it is an abyss, which may contain unheard of treasures, but it is one, that cannot be irradiated by the beams that would disclose them to man.

FROM THE LONDON LITERARY GAZETTE.

EPITOME OF THE MEMOIR RELATIVE TO THE ALPHABET OF THE
PHONETIC EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS.

Communicated to the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, September 27th, 1822.

[In giving this important and highly interesting paper to our readers, we need not point out the extraordinary results to which the discovery it explains are likely to lead. The capacity to decipher the earliest records of the earth, it is to be hoped, will at length be attained.]

The Egyptian monuments, covered with inscriptions in divers characters, have become very common in Europe since the expedition of the French to the East. The enlightened labours of travellers, saving

from destruction these precious and often frail remains of ancient civilization, and the munificence of governments, facilitating the study of them by depositing them in public establishments, must necessarily have happy effects on the advancement of historical knowledge, and lead at length to accurate ideas on the general nature, the relations, and the mode peculiar to the different systems of writing usual among the ancient Egyptians.

But the most important of these materials are indisputably the triple inscription on the Rosetta Stone and the MSS. on papyrus, engraved since 1812 in the great description of Egypt. (Antiq. tom ii.) The learned labours of MM. de Sacy, Ackerblad, and Dr. Young, on these subjects, have proved both the difficulties inseparable from this study, and the rich harvest of new information which it was permitted to hope from it. Perhaps I have been so fortunate on my side as to obtain some positive data on a subject which has become exclusively the object of my researches.

From my several Memoirs it appears that the Egyptians had three kinds of writing:

I. *The Hieroglyphic Writing*, which directly painted ideas, by means of characters which represented, with more or less accuracy, the forms of sensible objects, and of which the characters were taken sometimes in a proper, sometimes in a figurative sense: the ancients called them, in the first case, *cyriological hieroglyphics*; in the second, *tropical or enigmatical hieroglyphics*. The hieroglyphic writing, as to the form only of the signs, was of two kinds; first, *pure hieroglyphics*, the character of which were an imitation of sensible objects; this kind was especially employed in inscriptions upon palaces, temples, tombs, and all public monuments in general; in the second place, the hieroglyphic writing, which I have called *linear*, because the signs which compose it, formed of very simple lines, often combined with ingenuity, offer also the easily recognised image of sensible objects. This last has been improperly confounded with the *hieratic* writing.

II. *The Hieratic or Sacerdotal* writing, the characters of which are for the most part arbitrary, and hardly retain in their forms faint traces of imitation of sensible objects. This second system is merely a *tachygraphy* of the first. Most of the MSS. found on Egyptian tombs are in hieratic writing, which was specially designed for religious matters.

III. *The Demotic* (popular) or *Epistolographic* writing, which was employed in civil affairs and private concerns. This writing, which is that of the intermediate text of the Rosetta Stone, formed a system of itself; it was composed, it is true, of signs *borrowed without alteration from the hieratic writing*, but the demotic writing often combined them according to rules and with an intention quite peculiar to itself.

These three systems of writing are purely *idiographic*; that is to say, they represented ideas, and not sounds or pronunciation. Their general process (*marche*) was, however, very analogous, or rather it was modelled on that of the spoken Egyptian language.

But since the three systems of Egyptian writing did not express the *sounds* of the words, it was important to know by what means the Egyptians could insert in their writings the *proper names and words*

belonging to foreign languages, which they were often forced to mention in their idiographic texts, principally during the various periods of the subjection of Egypt to kings of a foreign race. It is this question, so interesting to history and philology, that I have attempted to solve, and of which I shall give a concise epitome.

The demotic text of the Rosetta inscription, compared with the Greek text, has led us to perceive that the Egyptians made use, in this third system of writing, of a certain number of *idiographic* signs, which, throwing aside their real value, became accidentally signs of *sounds* or of *pronunciation*. It is with signs of this order that the names of kings, *Alexander*, *Ptolemy*, of the queens, *Berenice*, *Arsinoe*, and those of private persons, *Aetes*, *Pyrrha*, *Philinus*, *Arëia*, *Diogenes*, and *Irene*, are written in the demotic text of the Rosetta inscription. Another *demotic* text, we mean that of a MS. on papyrus lately purchased for the cabinet of the king, which is a public document of the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes II. contains also in its protocol, of which we have attempted a translation, the names of *Alexander*, *Ptolemy*, *Berenice*, *Arsinoe*, and likewise those of *Cleopatra* and *Eupater*; lastly, the names of *Apollonius*, *Antiochus* and *Antigone*, which are those of public officers or private individuals. The comparison of these names with each other has fully confirmed what the demotic text of Rosetta had already told us—the existence in the popular idiographic writing of an auxiliary series of signs, destined to express the *sounds of proper names, and of words foreign to the Egyptian language*. We have given to this auxiliary system of writing the name of *Phonetic writing*. The several names written according to this method, as well on the Rosetta Stone as in the public document on papyrus, being compared together, have shown us the certain value of all the characters which form together the demotic alphabet (or rather *syllabac*).

The use of *phonetic* being once distinguished in the *demotic* or *popular writing*, it was important to discover whether there was not also in the *hieroglyphic* writing a series of signs likewise *phonetic*, employed for the same purpose; because the discovery of this species of alphabet must produce, by its application to the numerous hieroglyphical inscriptions of which we have accurate copies, newer and positive results, highly interesting to history.

The hieroglyphic text of the Rosetta inscription might alone have decided this curious question, and have given us also a nearly complete alphabet of *phonetic hieroglyphics*, if the text had come to Europe entire. Unfortunately, the stone contains only the last fourteen lines of this text, and the hieroglyphical name of Ptolemy, inclosed, like all the hieroglyphic proper names, in a kind of cartouch, is the only one, of all those mentioned in the Greek text of the inscription, which has escaped total destruction. This name is formed of seven or eight hieroglyphic characters; and as the Greek name ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ contains ten letters, we could not fix any certain relation between the values of the one and the others,—nothing besides authorizing us formally to consider the *hieroglyphic* name of *Ptolemy* as composed of *phonetic* signs.

A new monument has at length removed all uncertainty in this respect, and has led us in a certain manner to most numerous, and we may say the most unexpected, results.

The Egyptian Obelisk brought to London by M. Belzoni, from the

island of Philæ, was connected with a base, bearing a petition, in the Greek language, addressed by the Priests of Isis, at Philæ, to king Ptolemy Evergetes II., to Queen *Cleopatra* his wife, and to Queen *Cleopatra* his sister.* I distinguished, in fact, in the hieroglyphic inscriptions which cover the four faces of this obelisk, the hieroglyphic name of *Ptolemy*, precisely similar to that in the hieroglyphic text of Rosetta: and this circumstance led me to suppose that the second cartouch (or scroll) placed on this obelisk near to that of Ptolemy, and the last characters of which, (that terminate also the hieroglyphic proper names of all the Egyptian goddesses,) are the idiographic signs of the *feminine gender*, contained, conformably to the Greek inscription on the base (or zocle,) the name of Queen *Cleopatra*.

If this were really the case, these two hieroglyphic names of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, which in the Greek have some letters the same, might serve to institute a comparison between the hieroglyphic signs which compose them both; and if the corresponding letters in the two Greek names were expressed in both the Egyptian scrolls by the same hieroglyphic, it then became certain, that in the *hieroglyphic* writing there existed, as in the *demotic*, a series of *phonetic* signs, that is to say, representing *sounds* or *pronunciations*.

This hypothesis has become certainty by the mere comparison of these two hieroglyphic names: the second, third, fourth, and fifth characters of the scroll of *Cleopatra*, ΚΛΕΟΠΤΡΑ, and which represent the Λ, Ε, Ο and Π, are in fact perfectly similar to the fourth, sixth, third, and first hieroglyphic characters of the name of Ptolemy, which in like manner represent the Λ, the Ε, or the diphthong ΑΙ, the Ο, and the Π, of the same proper name ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ. It then became very easy to infer the value of the characters which differed in the two names, and this analysis gave us the greater part of a *phonetic hieroglyphic* alphabet, which it only remained to verify by applying it to other scrolls, and to complete by this verification.

It is thus that our hieroglyphic alphabet has progressively increased, and the general alphabet has been obtained.

We will now add a very brief summary of the interesting results furnished by a rapid application of this alphabet to the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Egyptian monuments, which results relate first to the Greek period of the history of Egypt.

We read, in fact,

1st, The name of Alexander the Great written ΑΛΕΞΑΤΡΞ in the edifices of Carnac at Thebes. (Vid. *Descrip. de l'Egypte Antiq.* Vol. III. Plate 38. Nos. 13 & 15.)

2dly, The name of Ptolemy, common to all the *Lugidæ*, written ΠΤΟΛΗΜΗΣ and ΠΤΑΟΜΗΣ on the temples at Philæ, Ombos, Edfou, Thebes, Gous, and Dendera. (Vid. *Descrip. de Antiq.* Vol. I. Pl. 12.—Nos. 10 & 11, Pl. 43.—No. 1, Pl. 60.—Nos. 7 & 8, &c. &c.) This name is generally followed in the scroll itself by the idiographic legends, *Always living, Beloved of Phtha, or Beloved of Isis*.

3d, The name of Queen *Berenice* written ΒΡΗΚΞ, twice on the ceiling on the great Triumphant Arch of the South at Carnac. (*Descrip. de Antiq.* Vol. III. Pl. 50.)

* See the *Eclaircissements* upon this inscription, published by M. Letronne.

4th, The name of Cleopatra, written first ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ on the Obelisk of Philæ and on the Temple of Dendera, (Ibid. Antiq. Vol. III. Pl. 28. No. 16, &c.) and ΚΛΑΟΠΑΤΡΑ, and even ΚΑΟΠΤΡΑ on the edifices of Ombos, Thebes, and Dendera.

5th, The name of *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Alexander*, written ΠΤΟΛΑΜΗΣΑΡΚΕΝΤΡΕΣ at Dendera and Ombos. (Ibid. Antiq. Vol. I. Pl. 60. No. 9. Pl. 43. No. 8.)

6th, The name of another Ptolemy, hardly known in history, the son of Julius Cæsar and Queen Cleopatra, *Cæsarion*, whose royal scroll, carved at Dendera, next to that of his mother, contains the following legend— ΤΟΑΜΗΣ, surnamed ΝΗΟΚΗΣΕΡΣ, *Ptolemy, surnamed the new Cæsar, always living, beloved of Isis*. (Ibid. Antiq. Vol. I.)

But our hieroglyphic alphabet has been found applicable, without effort, and without any kind of modification either in the value or in the arrangement of its signs, to a much more numerous series of hieroglyphic names of sovereigns sculptured on the monuments of Egypt. On reading them we discovered, contrary to all belief, on the bas-reliefs of the temples, the titles, names, and surnames of Roman Emperors written in hieroglyphic letters, but in the *Greek language*—such are,

1st, The title ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, spelt ΑΟΤΟΚΡΤΡ, ΑΟΤΟΚΑΤΑ, and ΑΟΤΑΚΡΤΡ, inscribed alone on the edifices of Philæ, Dendera, &c. and followed by the idiographic epithets, *Always living, Beloved of Phtha, or Beloved of Isis*.

This imperial title is also engraved at the bottom of one of the perpendicular hieroglyphic legends which surround a large statue of a woman placed on the side of the circular Zodiac of Dendera, and on the second stone of that monument.

2d, The title of ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ, written ΚΗΣΡΣ and ΚΗΣΑΣ, accompanied by the same qualifications as the preceding, and filling a scroll by itself.

3d, The name of the Emperor *Augustus* in two scrolls joined together, forming the legend ΑΟΤΚΡΤΡ || ΚΗΣΡΣ, *Always living, Beloved of Isis*, is repeated six times on the cornice of the western Temple of Philæ, (Zoëga Numi Ægyptii imperatori, p. 3. No. 1.;) and it is very remarkable that these two scrolls contain exactly the only legend inscribed on the first medals of Augustus struck in Egypt. (Ib.)

4th, The name of the Emperor *Tiberius*, written ΤΗΡΗΣ, and still more frequently ΤΡΑΗΣ, is frequently seen on the walls and in the gallery of the western Temple of Philæ. Two scrolls joined together contain his whole legend, as follows: ΑΟΤΟΚΡΤΡ || ΤΡΗΣ ΚΗΣΡΣ ΣΕΣΤΣ, *The Emperor Tiberius Cæsar Augustus*; but more generally ΑΟΤΚΡΤΡ || ΤΡΑΗΣ ΚΗΣΡΣ, *Always living*. This latter is repeated nine times on the frieze of the same Temple. (Descript. de Antiq. Vol. I. Pl. 20. Nos. 9 & 10; Pl. 22. Nos. 1. 2. & 4; and Pl. 23. No. 5.)

5th, The same edifice of Philæ bears also in two united scrolls the titles of the Emperor Domitian in these terms—ΑΟΤΚΡΤΡ || ΤΟΜΗΝΣ ΣΕΣΤΣ; but this more extensive legend appears several times on the edifices at Dendera, where the hieroglyphic scrolls that have been transcribed give ΑΟΤΟΚΡΤΡ ΚΗΣΡΣ, *Always living* || ΤΟΜΗΝΣ, surnamed ΚΡΜΝΗΚΣ, Germanicus. (Ibid. Antiq. III. Pl. 28. Nos. 35. and 34. 33. 32. 31. 30.) which is in fact the legend of the medals struck in Egypt. (Zoëga Numi Ægyptii, p. 49, &c.)

6th, We have read the name of the same Emperor on the pamphilian Obelisk at Rome. The two interior scrolls of the northern face have literally $\Lambda\omicron\tau\kappa\tau\alpha$ | $\chi\eta\epsilon\pi\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\Sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$, the *Emperor Cæsar Domitian Augustus*; and the legend $\chi\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ $\tau\mu\eta\tau\iota\eta\varsigma$, *Cæsar Domitian*, is continued several times in the scrolls of the other faces.

7th, The name of the Emperor Trajan is read on the walls of the intercolumniation of the eastern edifice at Philæ: two hieroglyphical scrolls, united and placed before the figure of the Emperor adorning the goddess *Isis* and the god *Arouëris*, have $\Lambda\omicron\tau\kappa\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\epsilon\pi$ | $\tau\eta\eta\varsigma$, the *Emperor Cæsar Trajan*. (Descript. de Antiq. Vol. I. Pl. 28. No. 2, &c.) The frieze of the same intercolumniation is composed of nine scrolls; that in the centre has $\tau\eta\eta\varsigma$, *Trajan, always living*; the scrolls on the right read two and two, give the legends $\chi\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ (*Cæsar*), *Eternal germ of Isis*, $\kappa\epsilon\mu\eta\chi\epsilon\varsigma$ $\chi\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon$, *Germanicus Cæsar*, $\chi\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\eta\varsigma$, *Cæsar Trajan always living*; and those on the left, $\Lambda\omicron\tau\kappa\tau\epsilon\chi$, (the Emperor) *Always living*, $\Sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau$, (*Augustus*) *Always living*; $\Lambda\omicron\tau\kappa\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\epsilon\pi$ | $\tau\eta\eta\varsigma$ (the Emperor *Cæsar Trajan*) *always living*. (Ibid.) Lastly, two scrolls carved on the great Temple at Ombos, give the legend $\Lambda\omicron\tau\kappa\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\epsilon\pi$ $\chi\eta\epsilon\pi\alpha\eta\alpha\omicron\alpha$ | $\tau\eta\eta\varsigma$, surnamed $\kappa\epsilon\mu\eta\chi\epsilon\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\chi\epsilon\varsigma$, the *Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajan*, surnamed *Germanicus Dacicus*. (Descript. de Antiq. Pl. 41. No. 6 & 5.) which legend is found, in fact, in the medals of Trajan struck in Egypt. (Zoëga, p. 64.)

8th, The Barberini Obelisk at Rome preserves the name of the Emperor Hadrian. The great scroll which contained it on the first face of that monument has been destroyed by a fracture; but fortunately the imperial name is repeated in the scroll placed in the pyramidion of the fourth face, and before the figure of Hadrian on foot, making an offering to the god Phrê (the Sun). This small scroll has $\eta\alpha\tau\eta\eta\varsigma$ $\chi\eta\epsilon\pi$, *Hadrian Cæsar*.

9th, There can be no doubt respecting the reading of this scroll, since the same Obelisk bears on its first face an idiographic legend, in which I have distinguished the hieroglyphics expressing the ideas, *Likewise the Queen his spouse, greatly beloved*; and immediately after, a scroll, the reading of which gives $\Sigma\alpha\eta\eta\alpha$, *Goddess, living, victorious*; and, without interruption, a second scroll, bearing $\Sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta$, (*Augusta*) *Goddess always living*.

10th, The Typhonium of Denderah gives us, several times repeated, two scrolls united, and bearing the legend $\Lambda\omicron\tau\kappa\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\pi$. $\kappa\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ $\Lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\eta\eta\varsigma$, Surnamed *Always living*, (the Emperor *Cæsar Antoninus*).—Descript. de l'Égypte Antiq. Vol. IV. p. 32. Nos. 5 & 6. Other monuments and farther study will give us other names, and doubtless confirm our first views. It results from the whole of them,

1st. That in the hieroglyphic, as well as in the demotic writing of the ancient Egyptians, there existed a certain number of signs, endowed, under certain circumstances, with the faculty of expressing sounds: we have given them the name of phonetic hieroglyphics.

2d. That in the choice of the hieroglyphic signs, because the representation of sounds, the Egyptian seems to have been guided by a constant principle: they took, for the sign of a vowel or a consonant, the hieroglyphic representing an object, the name of which, in the Egyptian language, began with the vowel or articulation which it was intended to represent: thus we comprehend why the figure of a hand, in Egyptian *tot*, has become the phonetic sign of the consonant T;

why the image of a mouth, called *ro*, has become the sign of the Greek consonant P; a patera, *berbé*, the sign of B; a Pan's flute, *sébi*, the sign of Σ, &c. &c. And according to this same system it became indifferent to represent, for instance, the consonant T either by the idiographic sign of the Egyptian feminine article (T or TI) or by the image of a hand, *tot*, or by the image of a mason's level, *tori*, since the first articulation of all these words was a T. This circumstance explains to us at the same time why most of the vowels or consonants of the phonetic hieroglyphic alphabet are each rendered indifferently by several different signs.

3d. That notwithstanding the existence of this phonetic hieroglyphic alphabet, the Egyptians did not therefore renounce the ancient and general use of idiographic writing.

4th. That the two systems of phonetic writing (the hieroglyphic and demotic) were as intimately connected together as the three systems of idiographic writing were, since the demotic characters, representing vowels, consonants or syllables, are but the equivalents, in the *hieratical style*, of the hieroglyphics expressing the same vowels, consonants or syllables. Farther, this agreement of itself seems to prove that the phonetic signs of the sacerdotal writing could not differ in any respect from those of the vulgar or popular writing; and that, lastly, if there really existed in Egypt three species of *idiographic writing*, as we think we have elsewhere proved, there were in Egypt only two kinds of phonetic writing.

5th. That the most common use of the hieroglyphic and phonetic signs, was to inscribe, in purely idiographic texts, monuments and manuscripts, the titles, proper names and surnames, of persons, foreign to the Egyptian language, as well as words borrowed from other languages.

6th. That the number of these signs now known, furnishes the equivalent of twenty-one of the letters of the Greek alphabet, including a syllabic group.

7th. Lastly, that each of the Greek letters might have, as homophonous synonyms, several hieroglyphic signs; and we have just explained the reason of this, as well as the origin of these signs, and the reasons which might cause one or several of them to be chosen to correspond with such a letter or such a sound of the Greek alphabet.

Regionum Indiarum per Hispanos olim devastatarum accuratissima Descriptio. Auctore, Barth. de Las Casas. 4to. Heidelberg, 1664.

THE present age justly boasts its pre-eminence in the noblest labours of the heart, as well as of the head. The benefactors of the human race never were so unwearied in their exertions, never so encouraged by the voice of popular esteem, and never so successful in the attainment of their benevolent ends. We trust, however, that we may be permitted to draw the attention of our readers for a few moments from the dazzling glories that surround contemporary worth, for the purpose of paying the debt of grateful remembrance to those who devoted themselves to the cause of humanity, in days when there was perhaps more urgent necessity for relief, and certainly more difficulty in the attempt to administer it.

While the savage and mercenary race that followed in the train of the first discoverers of America, carried desolation, plunder, and slavery, among the native tribes, whom it would have been an easy task to lead on to civilization, religion, and virtue, a few individuals raised their voices and used their exertions in favour of the oppressed. At their head was Bartholomew Las Casas; and callous, indeed, must that heart be to the noblest feelings of virtue and humanity, which can refuse the tribute of respect and admiration to so unwearied a benefactor of his species. What more elevating spectacle can be contemplated, than that of a humble individual, embracing, with Christian affection, the cause of the injured, perishing tribes of Indians who roved over a vast and trackless continent,—starting from a private station to thunder out denunciations of moral and scriptural reprehension against thousands of unprincipled adventurers, who were backed by the influence of a corrupt court,—awing the most powerful into shame and reformation at his rebuke,—traversing fourteen times the wide Atlantic in a cause which he would delegate to no one,—rousing the feelings of the friends of humanity in every country by his energetic appeals,—compelling kings, courts, and ministers, to listen to his tale, and redress the wrongs he exposed,—returning to the field of his exertions, with the proud title of “Protector of the Indians,” the mediator between the royal authority and its injured subjects,—summoning the learned and the great to hear the voice of humanity, before tribunals where the oppressors were obliged to appear and justify their actions at the bar of reason and mercy,—and at length, in his 92d year, descending full of honours, and in the enjoyment of the highest mental activity, into the tomb, which alone could end the ardour of a mind ever firm in its purpose, and ever directed to virtuous and benevolent ends? Calumny itself, one would have thought, could find no charge against the principles and motives of such a man: it has ventured, however, to arraign his wisdom, to load him with the reproach of inconsistency, to point him out as one of those who have been the advocates of a blind and profligate policy, which could sanction vicious means for the accomplishment of benevolent ends.

Some of the detractors of his reputation have charged him with originating the African Slave Trade, but all with sanctioning, and, in fact, advising and contriving the importation of negroes into America, in order to relieve from slavery the native Indians, whose cause he had peculiarly espoused. This charge has been universally believed, historians too often preferring the repetition to the verification of assertions; and of late, the dreadful consequences which have resulted from the African slave trade, have been painted in deep colours as the reverse of the picture of Las Casas’s excellencies. His example has been held up in all the fervour of poetry, particularly in some recent German productions, as at least an awful instance of the short-sightedness of human policy, and the blindness with which our most praiseworthy exertions are directed, so as often to produce greater evils than those sought to be avoided,

The moral may be good enough, though the facts may be utterly groundless; but, before we give Las Casas the unpleasant honour of pointing it with his name, we are inclined to lend our assistance to the inquiry, whether he deserves to be thus stultified and degraded. In so doing, we principally avail ourselves of the materials collected by

the venerable and excellent M. Gregoire, in a memoir read by him to the Institute, and of the recently published volumes of M. Llorente, containing the life and works of Las Casas.

There does not appear to be any authority whatever for the charge of originating the African slave trade. Without adverting to the Roman and Carthaginian dealings in human merchandise, it will be sufficient to observe, that there is no doubt that the Portuguese, as early at least as 1443, under the conduct of Alonzo Gonzales, brought slaves from the coast of Guinea, whom they sold to the Spaniards. Establishments for the purpose were formed at Senegal and Cape de Verd; in fact, the trade was established thirty years before the birth of Las Casas in 1474.

Ortiz de Zuniga, the historian of Seville, observes, that the Spaniards had some years before that time (1470-80) begun to carry on the trade for themselves; and the number of African slaves in Seville is mentioned as being so great, that a police was established expressly for their regulation and management. The importation of slaves, in reality, every where followed the cultivation of sugar, as successively introduced in Spain, Madeira, the Azores, the Canaries, and America.

Into Hispaniola, it is clear, from the testimony of all historians,* even of Herrera himself, (on whose authority the accusation against Las Casas is made to rest,) that negroes had been imported to supply the deficiency of labourers from the massacre of the native population, eighteen or nineteen years before Las Casas is supposed to have been the founder of the scheme.

Let us see what light Herrera himself throws upon the real history of the trade, which this great philanthropist is stated to have contrived in 1517, and we shall then be able to judge what sort of fidelity Robertson has manifested in penning the paragraph which we shall hereafter extract.

He states, in the first instance, that as early as 1501, the King had, by express ordinance, given permission for the importation of slaves belonging to Christian masters, and that a revenue was derived from duties laid on such importations. In 1503, he states, that Ovando, the governor of St. Domingo, wrote home to dissuade the importation of negro slaves, because so many escaped to the Indians, and did a great deal of mischief. In 1506, he mentions regulations for preventing the negroes being worked on festivals and holidays. In 1511, he says, that the Dominicans, having pressed with great zeal the amelioration of the state of the Indians, an order was for the *second* time despatched, forbidding more than one-third of the miners being taken from those unfortunate men, and exhorting the importation of Africans from Guinea, "one African being able to do as much as four Indians." Las Casas had nothing to do with this; he was then at St. Domingo. In 1516, the attention of the Commissioners, sent out to improve the condition of the Indians, was particularly directed to the same means of relief.

Supposing, however, that Las Casas be acquitted of the charge of originating the black slave trade, it is still said, that, grieving at the cruelties practised against the Indians, of whom the Spaniards made slaves, he proposed to the government to relieve them, by directing

* See Anderton—Charlevoix—Hargreave's Argument, &c.

the evil towards the poor Africans. Herrera has asserted this, Robertson dressed it up in pompous declamation, and almost all modern historians have assumed it as notorious fact, and taken it as a text for lessons of morality.

The whole foundation for the story lies with Herrera, for no one else has done more than copy him. Having seen the real facts relating to the previous history of this trade, we will proceed to his account of the transaction of 1517, in which Las Casas is supposed to have established, if not originated it.

"The licentiate Barth. Las Casas, finding that his projects had to encounter difficulties on all sides, and that the hopes which he had founded on his great interest with the High Chancellor, were likely to be disappointed, looked around for other expedients, procured liberty for the Spaniards established in the Indies to import slaves, to assist the native Indians in the culture of the land and working of the mines; and encouraging a great number of labourers to emigrate thither, with certain privileges and conditions, of which he prescribed the details," &c.*

We are now to see the superstructure which Robertson builds on such a foundation; and we wish our readers to turn to the context, because they will there see the apparently intentional obscurity as to dates, the transactions of several years being all under the running head of 1517:

"Las Casas proposed to purchase a sufficient number of negroes from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa, and to transport them to America, in order that they might be employed as slaves in working the mines and cultivating the ground."

After asserting that this commerce "had long been abolished in Europe," and admitting the partial introduction of slaves into the New World, the historian adds:

"Cardinal Ximenes, however, when solicited to encourage this commerce, peremptorily rejected the proposition, because he perceived the iniquity of reducing one race of men to slavery, while he was consulting about the means of restoring liberty to another. But Las Casas, from the inconsistency natural to men, who hurry with headlong impetuosity towards a favourite point, was incapable of making this distinction. While he contended earnestly for the liberty of the people born in one quarter of the globe, he laboured to enslave the inhabitants of another region; and in the warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to be lawful and expedient to impose one still heavier upon the Africans."

Thus, unlimited credence is given to Herrera's unsupported allegation; fresh circumstances are introduced; a new colouring is given to all; and the historian's eloquence is directed to dress up the tale in as dark colours as his imagination could devise. In this manner, is built up a pompous declamation against one of the most unwearied and disinterested benefactors of the human race. He is brought into contrast with Ximenes, (who, by the bye, was dead at the time of the supposed proposition of Las Casas) and is at least branded with incapacity and

* El licenciado Bart. de Las Casas, viendo que sus concetos hallavan en todas partes dificultad, y que las opiniones que tenia por mucha familiaridad que avia conseguido y gran credito con el Gran Canceller no podian aver effeto, se volvio a otros expedientes, procurando que, a los Castellanos que vivian en las Indias, se diese saca de negros, para que con ellos en las grangerias y en las minas fuesen los Indios mas aliviados; y que se procurasse de levantar buen numero de labradores que paasen a ella con ciertas libertades y con condiciones que puso.

(*Hist. de las Indias Occid. par Herrera. II. 2. c. 20.*)

total ignorance of the tendency of those principles, which every action of his life showed to be always present to his mind.

As the whole fabric rests on Herrera's testimony, it is important to observe, that he cites no authority for the assertion; that no document vouches it, though all the transactions were publicly canvassed, and all the records preserved; that Herrera did not write his history till 1601, thirty-five years after Las Casas was dead, and more than eighty after the supposed scheme, consequently without any personal knowledge entitling him to have his assertions received without proof; that he shows, in other instances, considerable prejudice against Las Casas; and that his veracity, in many cases, is notoriously called in question by Gumilla, Laet, Solis, Torquemada, in short, many of the most valued historians of the early times of America.

It is strange that, if this story be true, it should be told by none of the early biographers of Las Casas, many of whom were, personally, excessively hostile to him. We are to consider, too, that these transactions were the very soul of all the discussions in which the partizans of the day, on either side, were so warmly engaged. The same remark applies to the historians of Ximenes, the supposed opposer of the importation of African slaves into America.—Not a syllable occurs in them of this important proceeding. Two of these historians (Alvarez Gomez and Baudier) attribute the introduction of slaves to the influence of the persons in the Flemish interest at the court of Spain, and the others place the blame elsewhere; but none hint at Las Casas having any share in so foul a transaction.

No cotemporary historian makes the least allusion to such a charge. Gumilla, Zarate, Thomas Gage, Nunez, all speak of the negro slave trade without any allusion to Las Casas.—Jean de Solorzano, Davila Padilla, Solis, Sandoval, Laet, Torquemada, some friends, some enemies of Las Casas, treat of him, but without any such accusation. Remesal, his cotemporary, speaks of his memoirs presented to the King, in favour of the Indians, without any notice of it. Hernandez de Oviedo and Lopez de Gomara, his personal enemies, even Sepulveda, his great antagonist, are equally silent.

In 1550, took place the celebrated conference at Valladolid, between Las Casas and Sepulveda, on the question of the right to carry on hostilities against the Indians, for the purpose of benefiting them by conversion. Las Casas took his stand on the broadest and most enlightened principles of the liberty of man; and in these he was supported by the solemn decision of the universities of Alcala and Salamanca.

Can it be supposed that he deserted his own principles,—deserted the great bodies with whom he had fought the fight of humanity, and who, it is well known, consistently opposed slavery altogether; and if he did, can we suppose that Sepulveda would have missed the *argumentum ad hominem* which so gross an inconsistency would have supplied?

What testimony do the writings of Las Casas himself bear? As strong as negative evidence can well give. He left unpublished a general history of the Indies, in three folio volumes of manuscript, in his own hand writing. Mr. Gregoire received the assurance of a learned American, a doctor of the university of Mexico, that he had read the three volumes completely through without finding a word that incul-

pated him. The same authority agrees entirely with the opinion of Munos, (as expressed in the preface to his *History of the New World*.) that Herrera frequently displays great want of judgment and infidelity in adopting or contriving idle fables instead of facts.

All the works of Las Casas breathe the pure, benevolent spirit of a devout and religious man, who viewed all the human race as members of one family, bound to love, comfort, and assist each other. In a most curious treatise on the question, whether the heads of a government had any right to alienate part of the national territory, he enters at length, and with great force and argument, into the principles of government, contending, that what concerns all requires the consent of all; that no custom or prescription can run against liberty; that all just government rests on its utility to the governed; that the will of the people is the only law, as its interest is the only cause of government; that all acts of a government, not tending to that interest, are arbitrary and illegal; and that no one could justly have any burden imposed on him without his consent.

All his other productions inculcate the same broad principles: and in that which treats expressly on the means of remedying the misfortunes of the natives of the New World, he constantly repeats that liberty is the first and best of possessions; that all men of all nations are free; and that to enslave, even under pretext of conversion, is contrary to all law human and divine. He goes into great detail as to the means of relief for the poor Indians; and it is surely needless to observe, that such a mode as that laid to his charge is no where pointed out. The only passage in which negroes are mentioned, proves, that they had already been introduced. "The Indians," he says, "tormented by the agents of the public authorities, and by their masters, are still more harassed by the servants and negroes of those masters."

Two MSS. [No. 10536] in the king's library at Paris, though anonymous, seem correctly ascribed to Las Casas. One is a treatise on the donation of Alexander VI.: the object of it is to contend that the kings of Castille are bound to restore their possessions to the natives. The second is a Letter, written in 1555, in which the author advocates strongly the claims of the Indians, on the principles of natural law, and on scriptural declarations of the equality of all men. He speaks of the blacks, as existing in America, but makes no allusion to them in the remedies he proposes for the misfortunes of the natives. He even went so far as to enjoin the priests of his diocese to refuse absolution to those who would not give liberty and indemnity to their slaves. Can we believe that their black skins would make all the difference with a man of this sort, so as to justify the infliction of more multiplied cruelties?

The real history of the final establishment of the Slave Trade, as it appears on the pages of Herrera himself, is this:—From the first conquest of America, negro slaves had more or less been imported; in the first instance, by owners of born slaves carrying them from Spain; afterwards, by importation, chiefly through the Portuguese, from Guinea. The settlers, however, found it much cheaper to enslave the native Indians, though less competent to the work, than either to bring over their slaves, who were valuable property in Spain and the islands, or to procure new importations. The consequence was, a profligate,

indiscriminate destruction of life. By degrees the importation of Africans increased, and the Spanish government encouraged it as a relief to the Indians, perhaps justly, because the Indians were free, while the Africans imported were most of them born slaves, or brought from a country where slavery was sanctioned by immemorial usage; and because the destruction of life, with these men, was only as one to four of the Indians.

When commissioners were sent out, in 1516, to superintend and assist in the amelioration of the state of the Indians, Ximenes himself, who is to be extolled at the expense of Las Casas, pointed out to them, in their instructions, the propriety of so assisting the Indians, and of encouraging the negro importation; nay, further, he gave directions that armaments should be furnished for assisting the settlers in attacking and enslaving the Caribs, whom he coolly delivers over, *en masse*, "as fit only for labour, and proper to be condemned to it." That these orders were consistent with the views of Las Casas, no one pretends; on the contrary, we find him protesting against the tolerance which the commissioners thought it necessary, on account of the exhausted state of the country, to extend to the principle of slavery; and, when unsuccessful, setting out once more for Spain.

Ximenes, however, soon after issued orders to suspend the further importation of negroes into America; but Herrera himself gives a reason more creditable to the fiscal than the humane views of this statesman, viz. that the Indians were found to be so reduced in numbers that it was seen the working population must soon be supplied from Africa; and the general importation was therefore suspended for a season, in order that the Spanish government might turn it to account by putting it under the grasp of the revenue. The consequence was, as might be expected, that particular privileges were obtained by individuals, and monopolies were created. Charles I. then in Flanders, was besieged by Flemish merchants, who sought to obtain these exclusive privileges. The effect of this was, that the settlers gave more for their slaves, and consequently had more inducement to attack the Indians.

In this state of things Las Casas met the new king in Spain, in 1517, when he is stated to have contrived the slave trade, and, according to Robertson's apparent arrangement of facts, to have vanquished the philanthropy of Ximenes, then dead. In this year, at the earnest instance of the commissioners, it is true that the fiscal scheme of Ximenes was revoked by the new ministry, so far as to authorize all Spaniards residing in America to import and purchase slaves; but the trade, it must be recollected, had never for a moment ceased; the only dispute was as to the terms on which it should be permitted with a view to the revenue.

The utmost then that can be brought against Las Casas is, that he countenanced the proceeding by which the Flemish monopolies were destroyed (or rather were intended to be, for the king again interfered with the freedom of the trade by granting an exclusive privilege to his major domo, which the colonists, in 1523, once more exerted their influence to destroy). If he *had* done so, it would have amounted only to this, that, being brought up in a country where slavery was supported by immemorial usage, and sanctioned by the church, he bounded his efforts to prevent the subjugation of newly discovered

nations, instead of directing his energies to the destruction of the principle of slavery in any shape. So Wilberforce and Clarkson might be blamed for not emancipating the present and future slave population of our colonies, while they placed bounds to the extension of the trade. He found one race of men in slavery; men whose value would ensure some consideration in their treatment from their masters, and was of opinion, that it was impolitic and inhuman to drive them to enslave and murder a population free and independent, and totally unfit for laborious employment, by throwing difficulties in the way of the colonists using what the existing laws of society, however erroneously, treated as their property.

But we have shown that there is no ground for fixing Las Casas even with the tolerance of slavery in any form, or with any participation in these schemes, which were, after all, mere fiscal regulations, and it does not seem necessary to say any thing more on the strange looseness of Robertson's statements, by which a previous trading regulation of Ximenes is converted into a moral opposition to the arguments of Las Casas in favour of a proposal made, if at all, after that minister's death.

We have already remarked on the comprehensive principles on which his arguments against any infringements of the liberties of man were founded. His writings breathe any thing but the spirit of a partial advocate for a favourite class, and it is impossible to conceive that such a man, if conscious of even a momentary concession to arbitrary or temporizing policy, should not attempt to shield himself from the obvious charge of inconsistency by some apology or palliation.

The acts of Las Casas, in this very year, form a striking comment on what must have been his feelings upon the question, and the means which suggested themselves to his mind, as most honourable to his country, and most consistent with sound policy as well as enlightened humanity. We actually find him zealously employed in collecting a number of Spanish labourers, to whom, by the permission of government, he held out inducements to proceed with him to the colonies; and, if this plan failed, it was not for want of the unwearied exertions of this disinterested friend of his species.

The seeds of error were, however, sown, and historians found the topic favourable for declamation. The tale would turn a paragraph with effect, and no one inquired whether it was true.

Las Casas had many enemies; two centuries later he would have had still more, for cruelty and rapaciousness would have had more time to know the value of ill-gotten plunder, which his efforts were directed towards preventing. It is not very probable, that all would have refrained from the practical answer which his conduct would have offered to his arguments. We find they were not slow in fixing the blame of their enormities at the door of others. One of their earliest resources was to ascribe the desolation and depopulation of America to the intolerant and fanatic zeal of the church. How willing would they have been to attribute the miseries of their slaves to Las Casas, the indefatigable labourer in the benevolent task of conciliating and civilizing the minds of the natives; of whom he observes that it was far easier to make them Christians, than to keep their oppressors so!

Nothing is more unfounded than the charges attempted to be brought by the oppressors of America against the missionaries, who spread over the country in the pious work of conversion. Above all, the Dominicans are entitled to the highest praise, and their mode of conversion is worthy of imitation, even in these more enlightened days of zeal for bringing in the Heathen. Their plan was to conciliate the natives by perpetual and unwearied acts of kindness, to teach them useful arts, and to better their temporal, as well as spiritual, condition: whatever became of their doctrines, they did good, and paved the way for the reception of higher degrees of moral improvement.

Marmontel has lent his name to the absurd and ignorant cry against fanaticism, as the cause of the destruction of the Indians. The time is, we hope, past, when any one who has learned to repeat with emphasis the words superstition and fanaticism, can set up for a philosopher. No assertion was ever more unjust, and opposed to every line of authentic history. Almost without exception, the ecclesiastics of America were the active, nay (if any thing), the *fanatic* opposers of the cruelty, avarice, and ambition of the settlers. It was not religion which brought on the misery of the natives; on the contrary, it was religion, and religion alone, which lifted up its voice and its exertions against the oppressors, and has received its reward in all the calumnies which thwarted vice could heap upon the men who stood in the gap of destruction.

Having thus taken a view of the allegations against Las Casas, we willingly leave it with any impartial judge to say, whether they can be considered as proved against a man, whose works and writings were always founded on honest, straight-forward principles of attachment to liberty on the widest basis. On all occasions, we have found him strenuously advocate the equal rights of all men, without distinction of colour, religion, or country; in short, every principle which he professed gives the lie to the calumny attached to his name.

Few men have employed so long a life in such eminent services towards mankind. The friends of religion, morality, and liberty, owe the tribute of the deepest respect to his memory. He was the ornament and benefactor of America, and deserves to be the glory of Europe which gave him birth. We discharge this duty to his memory, not only because we think it of some importance that history should be a tissue of truth rather than of falsehood, but because we feel a consolation in observing, that the enormities practised on America were not without their counterbalance in the heroic virtue of some of the champions of freedom and humanity. We have a duty to discharge, as well towards the departed as towards posterity, and none more sacred than that of tearing down the mark of disgrace, that would disfigure the escutcheon of a great and good man who has descended into the tomb. His talents and virtues often place him in advance of the age in which he lives, and his only appeal for protection and due estimation is to posterity; to it descend his good deeds and his example, and with them should pass the obligation of rendering that debt of homage and respect, which was denied to him by his cotemporaries.

FROM THE EDINBURGH PHILOSOPHICAL JOURNAL.

Remarks on the Insensibility of the Eye to certain Colours. By JOHN BUTTER, M.D., F.L.S., M.W.S., &c. &c.; Resident Physician at Plymouth. In a letter to Dr. Brewster.

MY DEAR SIR,

KNOWING how much you have directed your attention to the subject of optics, and that every variation connected with the ordinary phenomena of vision is interesting to you, I transmit, without farther apology, the particulars of the following case, which my friend, Dr. Tucker of Ashburton, Devon, has lately made known to me in the instance of his own son: About two years ago, Mr. Robert Tucker, who is now aged 19, and the eldest member of a family of four children, discovered that he was unable to distinguish several of the primitive colours from each other. He was employed in making an artificial fly for fishing, intending to have constructed the body of the fly with silk of an orange colour, whereas he used that of a green. When the error was pointed out to him by his younger brother, he could not believe it, until it was confirmed by other persons. Threads of orange and green silk were then twisted round his finger, and he could not perceive any difference in them, but thought them to be the same coloured thread twisted several times. This circumstance led to a trial of his powers for distinguishing other colours, and the following are the results which have been ascertained, taken correctly by frequent repetition, and confirmed by the trials made in my presence. Many of the leading or primitive colours, he neither knows when they are shown, nor remembers after they have been pointed out to him. Certain colours are confounded with each other. Orange he calls green, and green colours orange; red he considers as brown, and brown as red; blue silk looks to him like pink, and pink of a light blue colour; indigo is described as purple. The seven prismatic colours seen in the Spectrum, are described in the following manner:

COLOURS.	COLOURS.
1. Red, mistaken for	Brown.
2. Orange,	Green.
3. Yellow, generally known, but sometimes taken for	Orange.
4. Green, mistaken for	Orange.
5. Blue,	Pink.
6. Indigo,	Purple.
7. Violet,	Purple.

So that the yellow colour alone is known to a certainty. The colours were shown to him on silk, on feathers, and in Syme's book of colours, with uniform result. Red and brown colours appear the same, as well as green and orange, blue and pink, and indigo and purple. With the exception of black or white objects, which he seldom mistakes, all colours are by him divided into three classes, viz.

Class 1st, Includes red and brown.	
2d,	blue, pink, indigo, violet, and purple.
3d,	green and orange colours.

He can generally say, with certainty, to which of these three classes any colour belongs, but he mistakes one colour for another. A dif-

ference in the shades of green he can distinguish, though not the green colour itself from the orange. Soldiers' scarlet coats appear red. Grass looks green*. The colours of horses are quite unknown to him, except a white or black horse. A bay, a chesnut, and a brown horse, is described of the same colour. The colours of the rainbow or of the Moon, appear nearly the same, being twofold; at least, two distinct colours only are seen, which he calls *yellow* and *blue*. A blue coat, however, he can distinguish from a black, but this circumstance may be owing to the metal buttons in the one coat, and not in the other; and a yellow vest is always known to him. By day, he called carmine red, lake red, and crimson red *purple*, in Werner's book of colours by Syme; but by candle-light this error was detected, and the colours were called *red* with a tinge of *blue*. Black, which is the negation of all colour, could not be distinguished by him from a bottle-green colour, in one instance, though the difference was quite obvious to myself. Black, white, and yellow bodies are, however, recognised with tolerable certainty; though the shades of white, which again is but the beam of all colours, are not distinguishable. The shades of *green* can be distinguished from each other, as already stated, though none of them are known from orange. Duck-green, he called a red, and sap-green an orange colour. If he closed one eye and looked with the other, the results were not altered. His health has been good. This defect has not sprung from disease, it bears no relation to nyctalopia or amaurosis only in its probable seat; it is natural, not morbid.

Description of Eyes.—Mr. R. Tucker's eyes appear to be very well formed, being oblate spheroids with corneæ, neither remarkably convex nor flat. Irides light ash-colour. His vision is exceedingly acute. It has been frequently exemplified in finding bird's nests, in shooting small birds, and in reading minute print at a short or long distance. Light appears to him as light. He sees the forms of surrounding objects like other people at noon-day, in the twilight, and at night. In short, his sight is remarkably good in any light or at any distance. His grandfather, on his mother's side, seems not to have possessed the faculty of distinguishing colours with accuracy.

General Remarks.—Physiologists may speculate in opinion, whether or not this deficiency in the faculty of perceiving colours, as exemplified in the instance of Mr. R. Tucker, depended on the eye as the instrument and organ of vision, or on the sensorium to which all impressions made on the retina of the eye are referred, and in which the faculty or power, of discriminating colours is supposed to reside. Vision, regarded as a sensation, is only one medium of communication, which the brain or common sensorium has with the external world. The other senses afford other media. If an eye sees objects clearly, distinctly, and quickly, vision cannot be considered defective. The faculty, whatever it may be, wheresoever it resides, of discriminating the differences between different objects, certainly is not confined to the eye. The eye is but an optical instrument, serving to the purposes of vision; the judgment exercised upon the visual sensations, is an after process, and resides not in the eye. Still, however, the construction of the visual organ, modifies the appearances of objects pre-

* It is remarkable that green, which is the softest of colours, and composed of yellow and blue, should be mistaken for orange on every substance except on grass.

sented to it. All eyes do not see equally well in the same light. Nevertheless, there is a standard of vision which we call common. A difference in the vision of eyes depends, not unfrequently, on the colours of the iris and tapetum. In Albinos, the iris is red. They cannot see distinctly in the day time, because the red rays of the sun are possibly reflected, while the rest may be absorbed. It is probable that the red rays may be reflected from the iris when most closed, in Albinos, because in them there is a deficiency in the pigmentum nigrum or black coating, which covers the choroid tunic, and which being wanting, allows the rays to be more reflected and less absorbed than they are in human eyes generally. Hence the pupil is almost closed in Albinos. Red, we know, strikes the eyes most forcibly, as it is the least refrangible colour. In optics, it is proved that red bodies reflect the red rays, while they absorb the rest, and green colours reflect green rays, and possibly the blue and yellow but absorb the rest. Still, however, the consciousness of colours does not depend on the colour of the iris, because one person having a dark iris, and another a light grey, can distinguish colours equally well; nor on the tapetum, by the same rule, though the use of this coloured matter in the eye, is not yet well made out. Herbivorous animals, as the ox, are supposed to have the tapetum in their eyes of a greener colour than carnivorous animals, in order to reflect the green colour of the pasturage: but this explanation, given by *Monro primus*, does not hold good, for the hare, whose tapetum is of a brownish chocolate, and the stag, which has a silvery blue tapetum inclining to a violet, is equally herbivorous with the ox. In man and apes, the tapetum is of a brown or blackish colour; in hares, rabbits, and pigs, it is of a brownish chocolate. The ox has the tapetum of a fine green-gilt colour, changing to a celestial blue; the horse, goat, and stag of a silvery-blue changing to a violet; the sheep of a pale gilt green, sometimes bluish; the lion, cat, bear, and dolphin, have it of a yellowish-gilt pale; the dog, wolf, and badger, of a pure white, bordering on blue. The use of the tapetum and of the pigmentum nigrum, can scarcely be said to be known. We can only infer, that the tapetum, if white, might reflect all the rays and absorb none, and if black, as in man, it should absorb all the rays and reflect none. "Il est difficile," says Cuvier, "de soupçonner l'usage d'une tache si éclatante dans un lieu si peu visible. *Monro* et d'autres avant lui, ont cru que le tapis du boeuf est vert, pour lui représenter plus vivement la couleur de son aliment naturel; mais cette explication ne convient pas aux autres especes." Cuvier, *Leçons d'anat. Comp.* tom. ii. 402. Birds and fishes may perceive colours as well as animals, though they have no tapetum. The vision of man is regarded the most perfect, and defective vision in old people, is sometimes produced by a deficiency of the black paint. These considerations do not, however, lead us to suppose, that the faculty of distinguishing the harmony of colours depends on the eye, any more than the concord of sounds does on the ear. The eye and the ear can be regarded only as instruments for bringing the sensorium or thinking principle of man and animals acquainted with whatever is visible or audible. The faculty, therefore, must reside elsewhere. Quickness of vision never made a Newton, nor delicacy of hearing a Handel, nor fineness of touch a Reynolds, nor acuteness of smelling a Davy, nor accuracy of taste any philosopher whatever. For all that

man sees, hears, touches, smells, and tastes, constitutes only a specific difference in his sensations. These several sensations are compared, judged of, and distinguished from each other, by some internal principle which does not reside in the organs themselves. It is this principle or discriminating faculty of colours which is wanting in Mr. R. Tucker. Pressure made on the optic or auditory nerves entering the brain, will paralyze these organs which can neither see nor hear, unless their communication with the brain be preserved. Amaurosis sometimes arises from disease in the brain, and deafness from a similar cause. The brain is the sensitive centre which feels all the sensations of light, sound, odour, and taste. In palsy, the latter is often annulled. In the instance of Mr. R. Tucker, there is no evidence whatever, to lead a person to suppose, that defect exists in the functional office of his eyes, for his vision is quick above par. Where, therefore, does the fault lie? His eyes do their office, but the subsequent processes of perceiving, judging of, comparing, and remembering (as confined solely to colours, his other faculties being perfect,) are deficient. We must seek the explanation, therefore, in physiological, and not in optical science, for the phenomena do not depend on the mechanical construction of his eyes. Yours, &c.

JOHN BUTTER.

Observations on the preceding Paper. By Dr. BREWSTER.

From the facts described in this very interesting paper, Dr. Butter has concluded, that Mr. R. Tucker's imperfect vision of colours has a *physiological* and not an *optical* origin; and he proceeds in the conclusion of his paper, (which, for obvious reasons, we have omitted,) to fortify this conclusion by the statement, that Mr. R. Tucker is particularly defective in the "organ of colours."

In giving an account of the case of Mr. Dalton, and others, whose eyes have an imperfect perception of colours, Dr. Thomas Young has remarked, (in opposition to Mr. Dalton's opinion, that the vitreous humour of his own eye is of a deep blue tinge), that "it is much more simple to suppose the absence or paralysis of those fibres of the retina which are calculated to perceive red."

With regard to the existence of fibres in the retina, suited to the perception of different colours, we have no evidence; but it seems quite sufficient for the explanation of the leading facts, to suppose that the retina is insensible to certain colours.

Dr. Wollaston, in his interesting paper on sounds inaudible to certain ears,* has shown, that ears, both of the young and old, which are perfect with regard to the generality of sounds, may, at the same time, be completely insensible to such as are at one or the other extremity of the scale of musical notes; and I have lately ascertained, that some eyes which perform all the functions of vision in the most perfect manner, are insensible to certain impressions of highly attenuated light, which are quite perceptible to other eyes. Dr. Wollaston has given the most satisfactory explanation of this partial insensibility of the tympanum, and I conceive, that the insensibility of some eyes to weak impressions of light, requires no other explanation, than that either from original organization, or some accidental cause, the retina

* See the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, vol. iv. p. 158.

of one person may be less delicate and less susceptible of luminous impressions than the retina of another, without being accompanied with any diminution of the powers of vision. If a sound ear, therefore, may be deaf to sounds of a certain pitch, without our looking for the cause of this in the form of any part of the brain, why should we appeal to such an uncertain guide for an explanation of the analogous phenomenon of the insensibility of the eye to certain colours?

FROM THE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, &C.

ON GALVANISM.

By Dr. A. P. W. Philip.

GALVANISM has long been admitted to be the best of all artificial stimuli of the muscles, and capable, in either direction, of passing along the nerves; and, it may be observed, better adapted to the excitement of the muscles when the positive than when the negative end of the pile is connected with the brain. My experiments prove it to be capable of effecting the formation of the secreted fluids, and other processes of assimilation, when duly applied to the proper parts, while they retain the vital principle. It remains to inquire whether it can raise the temperature of living arterial blood; that is, living blood which has not already undergone the effects of the influence of the nervous system.

That it is capable of this function appears from my experiments. The rise of temperature was immediate and considerable; in one experiment 3° , in another 4° . From my experiments it appears that galvanism has no power to raise the temperature of arterial blood after it has been exposed even for the short period of a minute and a half. It is necessary that the galvanism should act on it as it flows from the vessels, possessing all its vital properties. From my experiments, it appears that galvanism has no power to raise the temperature of venous blood; that is, blood which has already undergone the effects of the nervous influence, although applied to it immediately on its leaving the vessels.

In the seventh volume of the *Medico-Chirurgical Transactions*, Mr. Henry Earle notices cases of palsy, in which the temperature of the paralytic limb, although the pulse was good, was lower than that of the rest of the body. In one of them the electric influence was passed through the limb, and was found to raise its temperature.*

But raising the temperature of the blood seems not to be the only effect of galvanism on this fluid, which corresponds with the effects of the influence of the nervous system on it. Two other remarkable ef-

* The following is the statement given by Mr. Earle:

		Before Electricity.	After Electricity.
Paralyzed limb	{ Hand	70	77
	{ Arm	80	83½
	{ Axilla	92	93
Healthy limb	{ Hand	92	92
	{ Arm	93	95½
	{ Axilla	96	96

fects of this influence on the blood appear to be darkening its colour and exciting its coagulating power. It is only after the blood is exposed to the influence of that system that it assumes a dark colour in the healthy animal, and as the influence of the nervous system on the blood appears to be the means employed in the various assimilating processes, this influence must possess the power of causing the coagulation of its fibrine. These are also the immediate effects of galvanism on arterial blood, and it produces these effects more readily than any other artificial agent. It also appears from the observations which have been made, that an excessive impression communicated through the nervous system, is capable of immediately destroying the coagulating power of the blood. The same is true of the excessive application of galvanism.

It follows from all that has been said, that galvanism, applied to the different parts of the animal body while they retain their vital power, is capable of the various functions of the nervous system. We are, therefore, naturally led to inquire whether the influence of this system possesses any of the more familiar properties of galvanism. We find this question also answered in the affirmative. The influence of the nervous system is capable of its functions after having been made to leave the nerve, and pass through certain conductors of galvanism*.

It seems at first view surprising that the influence of this system should pass so readily by the ganglionic nerves after their division, since we know from every day's experience that this never happens in the spinal or cerebral nerves. But the different circumstances in which these nerves are placed, seem readily to explain the difficulty. We know that the power of secreting surfaces is increased for the time, if they retain their healthy state, by any cause which occasions a greater than usual determination of blood to them. The presence of this fluid in such surfaces, therefore, solicits towards them a corresponding supply of the influence of the nervous system. Thus there is a cause soliciting a flow of this influence to the extremities of the ganglionic nerves, which has no existence in the case of the cerebral and spinal nerves. There is nothing in the muscular fibres to solicit this influence. They are passive till it is applied to them.

It appears from all that I have laid before the world, that there are three distinct powers in the animal system which have no direct dependance on each other, for we have seen the muscular surviving both the sensorial and nervous power, and the nervous the sensorial and muscular power; and nobody has supposed that the sensorial power has any dependance on either of the others, except as far as they are necessary for the maintenance of its organs, in which respect the nervous and muscular in the more perfect animal are equally, though not so immediately, dependant on the sensorial power.

The nervous and muscular powers are, on the one hand, the direct means of maintaining the life of the animal, and on the other, of connecting it with the external world; the former receiving impressions from that world, the latter communicating impressions to it. All the functions of both powers bear a strong analogy to the properties of the world with which they are thus associated; we therefore have reason,

* *Philosophical Transactions* for the present year. Experiments related in the 23d number of the *Journal of the Royal Institution*, page 18.

according to principles above stated, to believe that all these functions, as is evidently the case with many of them, are the results of inanimate agents acting on vital parts.* There is none of them, as appears from the experiments which have been referred to, which may not be excited by artificial means as long as its organs retain the vital principle; and it is a remarkable fact, that they are all capable of being excited by one agent, and that an agent universally diffused, which we know from other facts to be intimately connected with the animal economy, and which in some of its most characteristic properties the influence of the nervous system resembles. Lastly, we know that an agent of the same nature with that of which we now speak, electricity, is in some animals capable of being collected and applied by the organs of the nervous system.

When from the nervous and muscular we turn to the sensorial functions, we perceive results which have lost all analogy to those of inanimate matter. They have only an indirect effect in maintaining animal life, and are excited by no impressions but those communicated through the nervous system, and consequently are the results of living parts acting on each other. Hence it is, that they are the first functions which cease when the vital power begins to fail. In the nervous and muscular functions an inanimate agent excites the languid powers of life. In the sensorial functions, the functional power and the stimulus which excites it, being equally vital powers, fail together.

When the nature of the sensorial functions is kept in view, we cannot be surprised that the attempts to refer them to a more general principle have proved so futile. To what other principle shall we refer the effects of the vital parts of animals on each other, when it is in animals alone that such parts ever influence each other? Even in vegetable life we find nothing analogous to the sensorial functions. All its processes bear the same analogy to the properties of inanimate matter, which we observe in the functions of the nervous and muscular systems of animals, and are, therefore, the results of inanimate agents acting on living matter.† Much less can we look for any analogies of this kind in inanimate nature itself. Such reveries may please as the creations of the poet, but admit not of serious discussion. We are charmed with the flights of Lucretius, but we see only the perversion of philosophy in the reasonings of Hartley.

If the foregoing inferences from the various experiments which have been referred to be correct, it is reasonable to suppose that they may be beneficially applied to the practice of medicine. The view of the different functions of the animal body, and their mutual dependance on each other afforded by those experiments, cannot, in that case, fail to be of use in explaining the nature and regulating the treatment of the deviations of these functions from the healthy state, particularly in the diseases whose symptoms are most influenced by the mutual sympathy of the vital organs.

* The nervous power, by which the impressions on the organs of sense are conveyed to the sensorium, receives those impressions from inanimate matter. Even the heart is excited by inanimate agents, for although the blood be alive, it is by its chemical properties and bulk that it excites the heart and vessels, as appears from rendering the blood more or less stimulating, and greater or less in quantity.

† It is here worthy of remark, that many phenomena render it probable that there is a continual passage of the electric influence through plants, to which both their form and position are peculiarly adapted.

In a Treatise on Indigestion, I have attempted its application to an extensive class of these diseases. But I here wish chiefly to direct the reader's attention to the practical results from the experiments which relate to the influence of galvanism on the animal body.

They led me more than six years ago to the employment of this agent in diseases, which seem to arise from a defect of nervous power, particularly habitual asthma and indigestion; and an account of its effects in those diseases was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1817. It is now admitted, I believe, by all who have witnessed them, that in the former disease, and under certain circumstances of the latter, galvanism is the most effectual means of relief which we possess.

In its employment, we must constantly guard against the inflammatory diathesis, both because it tends to produce this diathesis, and because the diseases to which it is adapted, for reasons pointed out at length in the Treatise on Indigestion, to which I have just referred, have the same tendency. As any considerable degree of the inflammatory diathesis not only obviates the beneficial effects of galvanism, but renders it injurious, the constant superintendence of a well-informed practitioner is necessary. I need not here enter more particularly into this part of the subject, which has been done in that treatise, and in my *Experimental Inquiry into the Laws of the Vital Functions*, in which the reader will find a detail of cases cured, or relieved by galvanism. To its effects in one case of considerable importance I shall beg leave more particularly to direct the reader's attention, because it is only since I last had occasion to mention the subject publicly, that I have witnessed them. Mr. Earle some time ago asked me, if I thought galvanism a probable means of relief in dyspnoea and indigestion, arising from disease of the spinal marrow. I did not hesitate to recommend a cautious trial of it, referring Mr. Earle to what I had said of such cases in the last part of the above-mentioned Inquiry. I am happy to say the result has fully answered our expectations, as appears from the following letter which Mr. Earle did me the favour to address me.

" George Street, August 14, 1822.

" My dear Sir,

" I have much pleasure in transmitting to you the following account of the trials made with galvanism at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The first case is that in which you witnessed its first application.

" Elizabeth Pepperall, aged 17, of fair complexion, and light hair, was admitted into St. Bartholomew's Hospital in August, 1821, in consequence of an affection of the spine, which had existed for about a year and a half. At the time of her admission, it appeared, that almost all the dorsal and lumbar vertebrae were affected. She had nearly lost all power over her lower extremities and pelvic viscera; and she complained of very severe cramps at the pit of the stomach, and acute pain in the course of the costal nerves, which was much increased by pressure on the ribs, or any attempt at a deep inspiration. Her general health was much deranged; her pulse was very rapid, with occasionally severe palpitation of the heart, and constant dyspnoea. Her digestive powers were greatly impaired, she had no appetite; and could only digest a small portion of stale bread and some milk and water. Even this meal was always followed by uneasy sensations at her sto-

mach, and an increase of head-ache, from which she was hardly ever free. Her bowels were obstinately costive, and the urine was scanty, and deposited large quantities of lithate of ammonia.

"She was placed on one of my invalid beds, which enabled her to remain in a state of uninterrupted rest; and after the repeated application of leeches, issues were made on either side of the dorsal spine, and subsequently in the lumbar region. The issues were kept actively open, and the strictest attention was paid to her general health. The spine very gradually became less sensible, and the power over the pelvic viscera and lower extremities slowly returned; still, however, her stomach was incapable of digesting any other food than bread and milk and water, her head-ache remained nearly unabated, and her breathing was habitually difficult. She was in this state when you saw her and the galvanism was first administered (December 19).

"A trough containing plates of about three inches was employed. The positive wire was applied to the nape of the neck, the negative a little below the pit of the stomach. No sensation was at first produced by twenty plates; but after the sensation was excited, she could not endure more than twelve. The first sensation she experienced caused her to take involuntarily a sudden and deep inspiration. The galvanism was applied for about a quarter of an hour, at the end of which time, her breathing became much freer than it had been for many months. Of this she repeatedly expressed herself perfectly certain, at the same time she felt considerable uneasiness at the stomach. She was slightly hysterical, in consequence of the agitation she had experienced, but her breathing was tranquil during the whole evening.

"With a view to remove the tenderness in the epigastrium, leeches were applied to the region of the stomach, and the whole plan of treatment adapted to the secondary stage of dyspepsia was resorted to. When the tenderness had somewhat abated, the galvanism was repeated with more decided relief to the breathing, and without causing much uneasiness at the stomach.

"After several applications of it, the relief she experienced in her breathing lasted for two or three days, and at length it was only necessary to repeat it occasionally. The effect of its administration was uniformly the same; a most sensible and speedy relief from a state of anxious breathing to perfect ease and repose. Its beneficial effects were not, however, confined to the respiration; the powers of her stomach greatly improved, and she was able to digest a small quantity of meat or the yolk of an egg without pain. As her stomach improved, she lost the distressing head-ache, which had so constantly attended, as at one time to lead me to apprehend the existence of disease in the brain, having met with other cases in which scrofulous affection had existed in the brain and spine at the same time. Her progress from this time was uniform, and far more rapid than it had been before; and in about two months, the catamenia, which had been suspended from the commencement of the disease, returned.

"The patient was sufficiently recovered to leave the hospital, and return to her friends at Dartmouth early in July; at which time she was able to walk with very little assistance, and without experiencing the least pain in her back. On reviewing the circumstances of this case, I have not the least hesitation in stating my decided opinion of the great benefit which was derived from the employment of galvanism,

not only in affording temporary relief to the breathing, but in improving the secretions, and thus materially contributing to the ultimate recovery of the patient. I feel particularly happy that the patient was in a public hospital, and that the means were employed in the presence of many intelligent medical friends and pupils, who were all equally satisfied with myself of the essential and permanent benefit which she derived from the administration of galvanism.

"It was employed in two other similar cases in the same hospital, those of Ann Baillies, and Maria May, in which it produced similar good effects, except that in one of these, the improvement of the general health, although not less than in the other cases, did not appear to have the same beneficial effect on the disease of the spine. It was tried in another case of spine disease, which was attended with fits of spasmodic asthma. These, as I was taught to expect, from the observations you have published on this subject, it failed to relieve. It is remarkable, that in the case of Ann Baillies, in which the pulse was from 140 to 150, and very weak, the use of the galvanism always rendered it stronger and brought it down from thirty to forty beats in the minute.

"From observing the good effects of galvanism on the secretions of the stomach, I was induced to make a trial of it in a case of deafness, accompanied with a total want of secretion of cerumen in the right ear. Its first application produced a watery secretion, which by perseverance gradually assumed the taste and all the other characters of cerumen. The hearing was greatly improved in both ears, but how far this was to be ascribed to the restoration of the secretion is rendered doubtful, in consequence of a tumour having at the same time been removed from the tympanum of the left ear by the repeated application of caustic.

"The foregoing facts you are perfectly welcome to make any use of, should you think them deserving of notice, and I am,

"My dear Sir,

"Very sincerely, yours,

"HENRY EARLE."

It appears from the foregoing statement, that in disease of the spinal marrow, galvanism is not only capable of performing the function of the diseased part of this organ, by which the vital actions are restored to a state of health, and the patient's sufferings greatly mitigated; but that, it also, as might *à priori* be expected, by thus improving the general health, indirectly contributes to the cure of the spinal disease. With regard to the last case mentioned by Mr. Earle, in which the secretion of cerumen was restored by galvanism, this, it is evident, from what has been said, can only happen when the fault consists in a defect of nervous influence, and not in a diseased state of the vessels.

When we compare the foregoing report of Mr. Earle with the statements which I have already had occasion to make public, respecting the effects of galvanism in other diseases, may we not hope that if in so few years such has been the result of the employment of this remedy on the principles above laid down, a more extensive experience will still extend the advantages derived from it. I have repeatedly seen its use more successful than any other means in obstinate general nervous debility, in which transmission through the stomach and lungs

has still appeared to me the best means of applying it. In certain species of fever, and other cases attended with deficient nervous energy, we have reason to believe that it will be found a valuable remedy.

I may close these observations by observing, that when galvanism is not used to such extent as to occasion an inflammatory tendency, I have never seen any bad effect from it, except a sense of languor, similar to the feeling of fatigue, when its employment has been too long continued. The inflammatory tendency produced by it, according to my experience, is always easily removed; is never followed by any serious consequence; and, with a little care, may almost always be prevented. I have repeatedly observed that when the cure has advanced to a certain point, its judicious employment, so far from causing the inflammatory tendency, has, by improving the state of the secreting surfaces, relieved that caused by the disease.

FROM THE EDINBURGH PHILOSOPHICAL JOURNAL.

On the Alloys of Steel. By J. STODART, Esq. F.R.S.; and Mr. FARADAY, Chemical Assistant to the Royal Institution.

THE alloys of steel, made on a small scale in the laboratory of the Royal Institution, proving to be good, and the experiments having excited a very considerable degree of interest, both at home and abroad, gave encouragement to attempt the work on a more extended scale, and we have now the pleasure of stating, that alloys similar to those made in the Royal Institution, have been made for the purpose of manufacture; and that they prove to be, in point of excellence, in every respect equal, if not superior, to the smaller productions of the laboratory. Previous, however, to extending the work, the former experiments were carefully repeated, and to the results were added some new combinations, namely, steel with palladium, steel with iridium, and osmium, and latterly, steel with chromium. In this last series of experiments we were particularly fortunate, having by practice acquired considerable address in the management of the furnaces, and succeeded in procuring the best fuel for the purpose. Notwithstanding the many advantages met with in the laboratory of the Royal Institution, the experiments were frequently rendered tedious from causes often unexpected, and sometimes difficult to overcome; among these, the failure of crucibles was perhaps the most perplexing. We have never yet found a crucible capable of bearing the high degree of temperature required to produce the perfect reduction of titanium; indeed, we are rather disposed to question whether this metal has ever been so reduced: our furnaces are equal* (if any are) to produce this effect, but hitherto we have failed in procuring a crucible.

The metals that form the most valuable alloys with steel are silver, platinum, rhodium, iridium, and osmium, and palladium; all of these have now been made in the large way, except indeed the last named. Palladium has, for very obvious reasons, been used but sparingly; four pounds of steel, with $\frac{1}{100}$ th part of palladium, have however been

* We have succeeded in fusing in these furnaces rhodium, and also, though imperfectly, platinum in crucibles.

fused at once, and the compound is truly valuable, more especially for making instruments that require perfect smoothness of edge.

In making the alloys on a large scale, we were under the necessity of removing our operations from London to a steel furnace at Sheffield; and being prevented by other avocations from giving personal attendance, the superintendence of the work was consequently entrusted to an intelligent and confidential agent. To him the steel, together with the alloying metals in the exact proportion, and in the most favourable state for the purpose, was forwarded, with instructions to see the whole of the metals, and nothing else, packed into the crucible, and placed in the furnace, to attend to it while there, and to suffer it to remain for some considerable time in a state of thin fusion, previous to its being poured out into the mould. The cast ingot was next, under the same superintendence, taken to the tilting-mill, where it was forged into bars of a convenient size, at a temperature not higher than just to render the metal sufficiently malleable under the tilt hammer. When returned to us, it was subjected to examination both mechanical and chemical, as well as compared with the similar products of the laboratory. From the external appearance, as well as from the texture of the part when broken by the blow of the hammer, we were able to form a tolerably correct judgment as to its general merits: the hardness, toughness, and other properties, were farther proved by severe trials, after being fashioned into some instrument, or tool, and properly hardened and tempered.

It would prove tedious to enter into a detail of experiments made in the Royal Institution; a brief notice of them will at present be sufficient. After making imitations of various specimens of meteoric iron by fusing together pure iron and nickel, in proportions of 3 to 10 per cent., we attempted making an alloy of steel with silver, but failed, owing to a superabundance of the latter metal. It was found, after very many trials, that only the $\frac{1}{50}$ th part of silver would combine with steel, and when more was used a part of the silver was found in the form of metallic dew lining the top and sides of the crucible. The fused button itself was a mere mechanical mixture of the two metals, globules of silver being pressed out of the mass by contraction in cooling, and more of these globules being forced out by the hammer in forging; and, farther, when the forged piece was examined, by dissecting it with diluted sulphuric acid, threads or fibres of silver were seen mixed with the steel, having something of the appearance of steel and platina when united by welding: but when the proportion of silver was only $\frac{1}{50}$ th part, neither dew, globules, nor fibres appeared, the metals being in a state of perfect chemical combination, and the silver could only be detected by a delicate chemical test.

With *platina* and *rhodium*, steel combines in every proportion; and this appears also to be the case with *iridium* and *osmium*: from 1 to 80 per cent. of platina was perfectly combined with steel, in buttons of from 500 to 2000 grains. With *rhodium*, from 1 to 50 per cent. was successfully used. Equal parts by weight of steel and rhodium, gave a button, which, when polished, exhibited a surface of the most exquisite beauty: the colour of this specimen is the finest imaginable for a metallic mirror, nor does it tarnish by long exposure to the atmosphere: the specific gravity of this beautiful compound is 9.176. The same proportion of steel and platina gave a good button, but a

surface highly crystalline renders it altogether unfit for a mirror. In the laboratory we ascertained that, with the exception of silver, the best proportion of the alloying metal, when the object in view was the improvement of edge-tools, was about $\frac{1}{100}$ th part, and in this proportion they have been used in the large way. It may be right to notice, that, in fusing the metals in the laboratory, no flux whatever was used, nor did the use of any ever appear to be required.

Silver being comparatively of little value with some of the alloying metals, we were disposed to make trial with it as the first experiment in the large way.—8 lb. of very good Indian steel was sent to our agent, and with it $\frac{1}{100}$ th part of pure silver: a part of this was lost owing to a defect in the mould; a sufficient quantity was however saved, to satisfy us as to the success of the experiment. This, when returned, had the most favourable appearance both as to surface and fracture: it was harder than the best cast-steel, or even than the Indian wootz, with no disposition whatever to crack, either under the hammer, or in hardening. Some articles, for various uses, have been made from this alloy; they prove to be of a very superior quality. Its application will probably be extended not only to the manufacture of cutlery, but also to various descriptions of tools; the trifling addition of price cannot operate against its very general introduction. The silver alloy may be advantageously used for almost every purpose for which good steel is required.

Our next experiment made in the large way, was with *steel and platina*.—10 lb. of the same steel, with $\frac{1}{100}$ th part of platina, the latter in the state produced by heating the ammonia muriate in a crucible to redness, was forwarded to our agent, with instructions to treat this in the same way as the last named metals. The whole of this was returned in bars remarkable for smoothness of surface and beauty of fracture. Our own observation, as well as that of the workmen employed to make from it various articles of cutlery, was, that this alloy, though not so hard as the former, had considerably more toughness: this property will render it valuable for every purpose where tenacity, as well as hardness, is required; neither will the expense of platina exclude it from a pretty general application in the arts; its excellence will much more than repay the extra cost.

The alloys of steel with rhodium have also been made in the large way, and are perhaps the most valuable of all; but these, however desirable, can never, owing to the scarcity of the metal, be brought into very general use. The compound of steel, iridium and osmium, made in the large way, is also of great value; but the same cause, namely, the scarcity and difficulty of procuring the metals, will operate against its very general introduction. A sufficient quantity of these metals may perhaps be obtained to combine with steel for the purpose of making some delicate instruments, and also as an article of luxury, when manufactured into razors. In the mean time we have been enabled, repeatedly to make all these alloys (that with palladium excepted) in masses of from 8 lb. to 20 lb. each; with such liberality were we furnished with the metals from the source already named.

A point of great importance in experiments of this kind was, to ascertain whether the products obtained were exactly such as we wished to produce. For this purpose, a part of each product was analysed, and in some cases the quantity ascertained; but it was not considered

necessary in every case to verify the quantity by analysis, because, in all the experiments made in the laboratory, the button produced after fusion was weighed, and if it fell short of the weight of both metals put into the crucible, it was rejected as imperfect, and put aside. When the button gave the weight, and on analysis gave proofs of containing the metal put in to form the alloy, and also on being forged into a bar and acted on by acids, presented an uniform surface, we considered the evidence of its composition as sufficiently satisfactory. The processes of analysis, though simple, we shall briefly state; the information may be desirable to others who may be engaged on similar experiments; and, farther, may enable every one to detect any attempt at imposition. It would be very desirable at present, to possess a test as simple, by which we could distinguish the wootz, or steel of India, from that of Europe; but this, unfortunately, requires a much more difficult process of analysis.

To ascertain if platina is in combination with steel, a small portion of the metal, or some filings taken from the bar, is to be put into dilute sulphuric acid; there will be rapid action; the iron will be dissolved, and a black sediment left, which will contain carbon, hydrogen, iron, and platina; the carbon and hydrogen are to be burnt off, the small portion of iron separated by muriatic acid, and the residuum dissolved in a drop or two of nitro-muriatic acid. If a piece of glass be moistened with this solution, and then heated by a spirit-lamp and the blowpipe, the platina is reduced, and forms a metallic coating on the glass.

In analysing the alloy of *steel* and *silver*, it is to be acted on by dilute sulphuric acid, and the powder boiled in the acid; the silver will remain in such a minute state of division, that it will require some time to deposit. The powder is then to be boiled in a small portion of strong muriatic acid;* this will dissolve the iron and silver, and the latter will fall down as a chloride of silver on dilution with water; or the powder may be dissolved in pure nitric acid, and tested by muriatic acid and ammonia.

The alloy of steel and palladium, acted on by dilute sulphuric acid, and boiled in that acid, left a powder which, when the charcoal was burnt from it, and the iron partly separated by cold muriatic acid, gave on solution in hot muriatic acid, or in nitro-muriatic acid, a muriate of palladium. The solution, when precipitated by prussiate of mercury, gave prussiate of palladium; and a glass plate moistened with it and heated to redness, became coated with metallic palladium.

The residuum of the rhodium alloy obtained by boiling in diluted sulphuric acid, had the combustible matter burnt off, and the powder digested in hot muriatic acid: this removed the iron; and by long digestion in nitro-muriatic acid, a muriate of rhodium was formed, distinguishable by its colour, and by the triple salt it formed with muriate of soda.

To analyse the compound of *steel* with *iridium* and *osmium*, the alloy should be acted on by dilute sulphuric acid, and the residuum boiled in the acid: the powder left is to be collected and heated with caustic soda in a silver crucible to dull redness for a quarter of an

* Although it is a generally received opinion that muriatic acid does not act on silver, yet that is not the case; pure muriatic acid dissolves a small portion of silver very readily.

hour, the whole to be mixed with water, and having had excess of sulphuric acid added, it is to be distilled, and that which passes over condensed in a flask: it will be a solution of oxide of osmium; will have the peculiar smell belonging to that substance, and will give a blue precipitate with tincture of galls. The portion in the retort being then poured out, the insoluble part is to be washed in repeated portions of water, and then being first slightly acted on by muriatic acid, to remove the iron, is to be treated with nitro-muriatic acid, which will give a muriate of iridium.

In these analyses, an experienced eye will frequently perceive, on the first action of the acid, the presence of the alloying metal. When this is platina, gold, or silver, a film of the metal is quickly formed on the surface of the acid.

Of alloys of platina, palladium, rhodium, and iridium and osmium, a ready test is offered when the point is not to ascertain what the metal is, but merely whether it be present or not. For this purpose, we have only to compare the action of the same acid on the alloy and on a piece of steel; the increased action on the alloy immediately indicates the presence of the metal; and by the difference of action, which, on experience, is found to be produced with the different metals, a judgment may be formed even of the particular one present.

The order in which the different alloys stand with regard to this action, is as follows: steel, chromium alloy, silver alloy, gold alloy, nickel alloy, rhodium alloy, iridium and osmium alloy, palladium alloy, platina alloy. With similar acid the action on the pure steel was scarcely perceptible; the silver alloy gave very little gas, nor was the gold much acted on. All the others gave gas copiously, but the platina alloy in most abundance.

In connexion with the analysis of these alloys, there are some very interesting facts to be observed during the action of acids on them, and perhaps none of these are more striking than those last referred to. When the alloys are immersed in diluted acid, the peculiar properties which some of them exhibit, not only mark and distinguish them from common steel, and from each other, but also give rise to some considerations on the state of particles of matter of different kinds, when in intimate mixture or in combination, which may lead to clearer and more perfect ideas on this subject.

If two pieces, one of steel, and one of steel alloyed with platina, be immersed in weak sulphuric acid, the alloy will be immediately acted on with great rapidity and the evolution of much gas, and will shortly be dissolved, whilst the steel will be scarcely at all affected. In this case, it is hardly possible to compare the strength of the two actions. If the gas be collected from the alloy and from the steel for equal intervals of time, the first portions will surpass the second some hundreds of times.

A very small quantity of platina alloyed with steel, confers this property on it: $\frac{1}{100}$ increased the action considerably; with $\frac{1}{300}$ and $\frac{1}{100}$ it was powerful; with 10 per cent. of platina it acted, but not with much power; with 50 per cent. the action was not more than with steel alone; and an alloy of 90 platina with 20 steel, was not affected by the acid.

The action of other acids on these alloys, is similar to that of sulphuric acid, and is such as would be anticipated: dilute muriatic

acid, phosphoric acid, and even oxalic acid, acted on the platina alloy with the liberation of more gas than from the zinc; and tartaric acid and acetic acid rapidly dissolved it. In this way chalybeate solutions, containing small portions of protoxide of iron, may be readily obtained.

The cause of the increased action of acids on this and similar alloys, is, as the president of this society suggested to us, probably electrical. It may be considered as occasioned by the alloying metal existing in such a state in the mass, that its particles form voltaic combinations with the particles of steel, either directly, or by producing a definite alloy, which is diffused through the rest of the steel; in which case, the whole mass would be a series of such voltaic combinations; or it may be occasioned by the liberation, on the first action of the acid, of particles which, if not pure platina, contain, as has been shown, a very large proportion of that metal, and which, being in close contact with the rest of the mass, form voltaic combinations with it in a very active state: or, in the third place, it may result from the iron being mechanically divided by the platina, so that its particles are more readily attacked by the acid, analogous to the case of proto-sulphuret of iron.

Although we have not been able to prove by such experiments, as may be considered strictly decisive, to which of these causes the action is owing, or how much is due to any of them, yet we do not hesitate to consider the second as almost entirely, if not quite, the one that is active. The reasons which induce us to suppose this to be the true cause of the action, rather than any peculiar and previous arrangement of the particles of steel and platina, or than the state of division of the steel, are, that the two metals combine in every proportion we have tried, and do not, in any case, exhibit evidences of a separation between them, like those, for instance, which steel and silver exhibit; that when, instead of an acid, weaker agents are used, the alloy does not seem to act with them as if it was a series of infinitely minute voltaic combinations of steel and platina, but exactly as steel alone would do; that the mass does not render platina wire more negative than steel, as it probably in the third case would do; that it does not rust more rapidly in a damp atmosphere; and that when placed in saline solutions, as muriate of soda, &c., no action takes place between them. In such cases it acts just like steel; and no agent that we have as yet tried, has produced voltaic action that was not first able to set a portion of the platina free by dissolving out the iron.

Other interesting phenomena exhibited by the action of acids on these steels, are the differences produced when they are hard and when soft. Mr. Daniel, in his interesting paper on the mechanical structure of iron, published in the *Journal of Science*, has remarked, that pieces of hard and soft steel being placed in muriatic acid, the first required fivefold the time of the latter to saturate the acid; and that when its surface was examined, it was covered with small cavities like worm-eaten wood, and was compact and not at all striated, and that the latter presented a fibrous and wavy texture.

The properties of the platina alloy, have enabled us to observe other differences between hard and soft steel equally striking. When two portions of the platina alloy, one hard and one soft, are put into the same diluted sulphuric acid, and suffered to remain for a few hours,

then taken out and examined, the hard piece presents a covering of a metallic black carbonaceous powder, and the surface is generally slightly fibrous; but the soft piece, on examination, is found to be covered with a thick coat of grey metallic plumbaginous matter, soft to the touch, and which may be cut with a knife, and its quantity seven or eight times that of the powder on the hard piece: it does not appear as if it contained any free charcoal, but considerably resembles the plumbaginous powder Mr. Daniel describes as obtained by the action of acid on cast iron.

The same difference is observed if pure steel be used, but it is not so striking; because, being much less rapidly attacked by the acid, it has to remain longer in it, and the powder produced is still farther acted on.

The powder procured from the soft steel or alloy in these experiments, when it has not remained long in the acid, exactly resembles finely divided plumbago, and appears to be a carburet of iron, and probably of the alloying metal also. It is not acted on by water, but in the air the iron oxidates and discolours the substance. When it remains long in the acid, or is boiled in it, it is reduced to the same state as the powder from the hard steel or alloy.

When any of these residua are boiled in diluted sulphuric or muriatic acid, protoxide of iron is dissolved, and a black powder remains unalterable by the farther action of the acid. It is apparently in greater quantity from the alloys than from pure steel, and when washed, dried, and heated to 300° or 400° in the air, burns like pyrophorus, with much fume; or if lighted, burns like bitumen, and with a bright flame: the residuum is protoxide of iron, and the alloying metal. Hence, during the action of the acid on the steel, a portion of hydrogen enters into combination with part of the metal and the charcoal, and forms an inflammable compound not acted upon by the acid.

Some striking effects are produced by the action of nitric acid on these powders. If that from pure steel be taken, it is entirely dissolved; and such is also the case if the powder be taken from an alloy, the metal of which is soluble in nitric acid; but if the powder is from an alloy, the metal of which is not soluble in nitric acid, then a black residuum is left not touched by the acid; and which, when washed and carefully dried, is found, when heated, to be deflagrating; and with some of the metals, when carefully prepared, strongly explosive.

The fulminating preparation obtained from the platina alloy, when dissolved in nitro-muriatic acid, gave a solution containing much platina, and very little iron. When a little of it was wrapped in foil and heated, it exploded with much force, tearing open the foil, and evolving a faint light. When dropped on the surface of heated mercury, it exploded readily at 400° of Fahrenheit, but with difficulty at 370° . When its temperature was raised slowly, it did not explode, but was decomposed quietly. When detonated in the bottom of a hot glass tube, much water and fume were given off, and the residuum collected was metallic platina, with a very little iron and charcoal. We are uncertain how far this preparation resembles the fulminating platina of Mr. Edmund Davy.

In these alloys of steel the differences of specific gravity are not great, and may, probably, be in part referred to the denser state of the metals from more or less hammering; at the same time it may be

observed, that they are nearly in the order of the specific gravities of the respective alloying metals.

The alloys of steel with gold, tin, copper, and chromium, we have not attempted in the large way. In the laboratory, steel and gold were combined in various proportions; none of the results were so promising as the alloys already named, nor did either tin or copper, as far as we could judge, at all improve steel. With titanium we failed, owing to the imperfection of crucibles. In one instance, in which the fused button gave a fine damask surface, we were disposed to attribute the appearance to the presence of titanium; but in this we were mistaken; the fact was, we had unintentionally made wootz. The button, by analysis, gave a little silex and alumine, but not an atom of titanium; menachanite, in a particular state of preparation, was used: this might possibly contain the earths or their bases, or they may have formed a part of the crucible.

M. Berthier, who first made the alloy of steel and chromium,* speaks very favourably of it. We have made only two experiments.—1600 grains of steel, with 16 of pure chrome, were packed into one of the best crucibles, and placed in an excellent blast furnace: the metals were fused, and kept in that state for some time. The fused button proved good and forged well: although hard, it showed no disposition to crack. The surface being brightened, and slightly acted on by dilute sulphuric acid, exhibited a crystalline appearance; the crystals being elongated by forging, and the surface again polished, gave, by dilute acid, a very beautiful damask. Again, 1600 grains of steel, with 48 of pure chrome, were fused: this gave a button considerably harder than the former. This, too, was as malleable as pure iron, and also gave a very fine damask. Here a phenomenon rather curious was observed: the damask was removed by polishing, and restored by heat without the use of any acid. The damasked surface, now coloured by oxidation, had a very novel appearance: the beauty was heightened by heating the metal in a way to exhibit all the colours caused by oxidation, from pale straw to blue, or from about 430° to 600° of Fahrenheit. The blade of a sabre, or some such instrument, made from this alloy, and treated in this way, would assuredly be beautiful, whatever its other properties might be; for of the value of the chrome alloy for edge tools we are not prepared to speak, not having made trial of its cutting powers. The sabre blade thus coloured, would amount to a proof of its being well tempered; the blue black would indicate the temper of a watch spring, while the straw-colour towards the edge would announce the requisite degree of hardness. It is confessed, that the operation of tempering any blade of considerable length in this way, would be attended with some difficulty.

In the account now given of the different alloys, only one triple compound is noticed, namely, steel, iridium, and osmium; but this part of the subject certainly merits farther investigation, offering a wide and interesting field of research. Some attempts to form other combinations of this description proved encouraging; but we were prevented, at the time, by various other avocations, from bestowing on them that attention and labour they seemed so well to deserve.

It is a curious fact, that when pure iron is substituted for steel, the

* *Annales de Chimie*, xvii. 55.

alloys so formed are much less subject to oxidation.—3 per cent. of iridium and osmium fused with some pure iron, gave a button, which, when forged and polished, was exposed, with many other pieces of iron, steel, and alloys, to a moist atmosphere: it was the last of all showing any rust. The colour of this compound was distinctly blue; it had the property of becoming harder, when heated to redness and quenched in a cold fluid. On observing this steel-like character, we suspected the presence of carbon; none, however, was found, although carefully looked for. It is not improbable that there may be other bodies, besides charcoal, capable of giving to iron the properties of steel; and though we cannot agree with M. Boussingault,* when he would replace carbon in steel by silica or its base, we think his experiments very interesting on this point, which is worthy of farther examination.

We are not informed as to what extent these alloys, or any of them, have been made at home, or to what uses they have been applied: their more general introduction in manufacture of cutlery would assuredly add to the value, and consequently to the extension of that branch of trade. There are various other important uses to which the alloys of steel may advantageously be applied. If our information be correct, the alloy of silver, as well as that of platina, has been, to some considerable extent, in use at his majesty's mint. We do know, that several of the alloys have been diligently and successfully made on the Continent, very good specimens of some of them having been handed to us; and we are proud of these testimonies of the utility of our endeavours.

To succeed in making and extending the application of these new compounds, a considerable degree of faithful and diligent attention will be required on the part of the operators. The purity of the metals intended to form the compound is essential; the perfect and complete fusion of both must, in every case, be ascertained: it is farther requisite, that the metals be kept for some considerable time in the state of thin fusion; after casting, the forging is with equal care to be attended to; the metal must, on no account, be overheated; and this is more particularly to be attended to, when the alloying metal is fusible at a low temperature, as silver. The same care is to be observed in hardening: the article is to be brought to a cherry-red colour, and then instantly quenched in the cold fluid.

In tempering, which is best performed in a metallic bath properly constructed, the bath will require to be heated for the respective alloys, from about 70° to 100° of Fahrenheit above the point of temperature required for the best cast-steel. We would farther recommend, that this act of tempering be performed twice; that is, at the usual time before grinding, and again just before the last polish is given to the blade. This second tempering may perhaps appear superfluous, but upon trial its utility will be readily admitted. We were led to adopt the practice by analogy, when considering the process of making and tempering watch springs.

* Annales de Chimie, xvi. 1.

FROM THE ALBUM.

Letter of an Adventurer to an object of early attachment—written on the night before his Execution.

You will start at sight of this writing, with a sensation of pain: yet you will not at first recollect to whom it belongs. The characters resemble some which you once traced with delight, but they have lost their former freedom and strength.

I know exactly the hour at which this will reach you—seven in the evening. How often at that hour have we together inquired for letters, at the little shop near the church. You are sitting at your tea-table, encompassed by your two rosy boys, your smiling fairy girl, and your excellent husband. How well I know the room in the Parsonage. I see the green curtains, the blazing hearth, and the print of the Transfiguration over the chimney-piece. You perceive, that I am acquainted with all your habits; but you have long lost sight of *me*: you do not even know the name which I now bear, and which you would to-morrow read in the papers with indifference, but for the sheet which now trembles in your hand.

A glance at the end will explain all, and awaken some scorching sparks of a flame, which, ten years ago, was light to your path, and warmth to your heart. Oh! Mary, during those years, on what waves have I been tossed! But I can accuse no one: the tempest was raised by myself. Yet when about to plunge into the abyss of death; it is indeed a consolation to reflect, that no parents survive to shudder at my infamy, and that *you* have glided calmly along on gentle and sunny streams, far from the lightning and the hurricane.

It would be a wild selfishness to wring your kind heart with my hateful tale, if I were not anxious to bequeath an indelible lesson to your children. *Your* children! How these simple words make my hand shake—what vain regrets, what deliciousness of once well founded hope do they not conjure forth before my aching sight! *Your* children! Is it possible that I am living—such as now I am—I, who might once have been their father?

Do you remember the night when we parted? We walked from your father's house along the path that winds by the lake: the moon was at her full—that moon, which gleamed so sadly on me then—on which I have never since had the heart to gaze.

Two days brought me to London; to an inn near the prison, where I am now immured. How rapturous was my first glimpse of the capital: it seemed the very atmosphere I was born to breathe. My enjoyment of its splendours was heightened, too, by the sweet expectation of soon sharing them in your society. For the first seven months I sent you a regular and faithful detail of all my feelings and actions; the tenth was to have returned me to Westmoreland: how eagerly I used to look forward to it!—but it came to you without me.

You cannot fail to remember one person, whom I painted to you in colours the most glowing. I early regarded him with a sort of instinctive admiration; for he was one of those remarkable men of whom we encounter only two or three in the course of a life. His figure was elegant and noble; but his features—it is difficult to express the union which they comprised of intelligence, sensibility, candour, firm-

ness,—embellished by a peculiar versatility, freedom, and complacency of address, which the oldest pupils of refinement rarely possess, and irresistibly fascinating to an unpractised eye. Great attention was paid to him by all, for he was particularly active and skilful in the minutiae of office. Gradually he observed me; apologized very effectually for some of my inaccuracies, and said I should gratify him by an application on any difficulty. One day, he mentioned in a casual manner, that he was going to support the new play of a friend, and asked me to take one of his orders, and accompany him. We dined at his chambers: here he led me to speak of my affairs, my wishes, my home,—subjects on which I had long been condemned to silence, and on which I burned to dilate. He knew every spot about Ambleside; showed me some beautiful sketches he had taken there. You may conceive how this expanded my heart. In the course of the night he introduced me to the Green-room: the successful author insisted on our supping with him: we met several men of wit, literature, and fashion; and, amidst the flow of wine and of soul, I fancied myself the inhabitant of a new world. We grew very intimate. His conversation was inexhaustibly rich: he had seized with ample grasp on all the broader outlines of nature and society, yet their most trivial features were equally revealed to him. I had hitherto studied books alone, and these superficially: he poured a flood of living light upon my mind. On one topic, indeed, we differed at first—I dread to add, that it was only at first. He often descanted on the credulity of mankind,—on bigotry, prejudice, superstition,—the craftiness of priesthood, and the evidence of the senses. Insensibly I imbibed the contagion: my misfortune or my error had been, that I had never mastered the *historical* proofs of Christianity: I had breathed it in childhood, as the air round me: my belief was only built on the foundation of feeling, example, opinion. Through this breach he assailed, and conquered me. His learning was very extensive, and I could make but few replies to it on recorded facts. On natural religion (to use his own term) he expatiated with eager eloquence; until I was at length persuaded that I had never before felt the force of genuine piety;—and from that moment I was never actuated by any.

I write largely of this man, for he was the hinge on which my fate had turned. I had occasionally heard him allude to a sister, who was a teacher of music. My task was one day finished earlier than usual, while much remained on his hands: he was to have spent the evening with her, but now was unable: he asked me to leave his excuse at her lodgings, which lay on my walk homewards. I intended merely to leave the message at the door, but the servant insisted on conducting me up stairs. The apartment was one of those sanctuaries, which instantly whisper that we are treading a superior ground;—exhibiting in varied forms those graceful touches of an inventive taste, which are often sought in vain amid scenes of more costly splendour. From that day you never received more than one shilling letter from me; duped, capricious, sensual fool that I was, what have I not lost! Not you alone, but every charm of this world, and in the next—

Adelaide was not a woman to be described; you should have seen her: yet to see her was not to know her; always fleeting from the view and touch of observance, she was ever presenting herself as a new being. She was not the most beautiful woman I ever saw, but

she was more—she was genius and sensibility embodied; all her looks, words, and gestures were emotions; there was an intense animation in her nature, which communicated sparks of life to every object that crossed her path. You smiled, you admired, you sighed, you forgot your existence, during a minute of her conversation. Intrepidity was a prominent ingredient in her composition, though not the most attractive one. She would launch forth into the boldest, bitterest ironies against falsehood, folly, corruption, perverted talents; and then would abruptly exclaim, “I am drawing my own portrait.” But in this she spoke to one who could not believe. Why am I so tedious?—I caught the wildness of her spirit.—Her brother, at first, treated my raptures with indifference, insinuating the imprudence of an early union with a portionless orphan. This only fanned my flame. At length he consented with seeming reluctance; and, on the strength of our approaching relationship, condescended to borrow a thousand pounds of me, which were to be repaid in a month; and, in the interim, were to rescue from the horrors of a prison an afflicted friend of his bosom. The day was fixed for our marriage, and my five thousand pounds were settled on her. But my fever of delight was arrested by the following letter, which is engraven on my memory to the minutest syllable; a feeble sketch of the most extraordinary person I ever beheld.

“Our acquaintance commenced with an apology for my brother’s absence. Is it to end in the same manner? He is very—very sorry that he cannot have the pleasure of giving me away; his indisposition is peculiar—he sailed yesterday in the good ship. Foresight for New York, there to be metamorphosed into a sober citizen. He is driven hence by a slight accident—he not alarmed—he does not depart destitute, having relieved the establishment of thirteen thousand pounds, and carrying with him, also, the one you so generously vouchsafed him. His friend has no longer any occasion for it, and it may serve the cause of benevolence in the New World.

“Were you ever out of England? Another time, suspect a female of twenty-seven, who prefers the *innate principle* to all revelation, and keeps Voltaire on her dressing-table. But to business—how shall I begin? You have been grossly blinded; let me now remove the bandage.—Seven years have vanished since the sun smiled on Adelaide, the happiest girl in Geneva: your friend and I were playmates, fellow-students, inseparable from infancy. His father was a professor in the University, the sympathetic friend of Gibbon,—chemist, political economist, and metaphysician; a Calvinist in the pulpit, and (shall I say it?) a Deist in his closet. Philip flourished under his auspices—a beautiful plant in spite of the soil; and, on his death, might have succeeded to the vacant chair, had not his principles—or his want of principles—been more than suspected. Then the frank and unstained youth made his first appearance in the character of Hypocrite, and has since sustained the part with infinite success on various theatres. We were both sanguine spirits, doting on each other; well accomplished, too, and longing to see the world. We agreed to start, and try our fortunes in a freer air. We were to be married as soon as Mont Blanc had dwindled in the distance. I firmly believe he was as much in earnest as myself,—but that is past. After wandering over many a blooming and scented path—the flowers of nature fast fading with the innocence of our hearts—we found our-

selves in England, grown rich in pride, talent, voluptuousness, scorn, and indifference to all virtue. He early marked you out for an easy prize; felt your pulse at play through the medium of an associate,—but reserved your catastrophe for my abilities. Broken-hearted, pampered, the slave of artificial wants, I readily agreed to play the game of mercantile matrimony. It was settled that he should extract his thousand from your softer moments; then you were to be left my prey, and Philip and I were to part for ever; not that our affection was exhausted, but our esteem!—it was agony to witness such mutual debasement—every glance at each other was a reproach on purer days.

“For myself, I claim no credit in disentangling your maze; it is mere selfishness. I considered that the first day of our union would be the last of our friendship; in a short week you would have awaked to galling realities, a hating, despising, deluded, blasted husband. I fancied, too, that you loved in me the expiring beams of some noble qualities, and I was interested by your candour, your liberality, and that fervour of feeling, which once glowed in my own bosom, a clear, and cheering fire, but is now the pale flash of delirium, piercing for an instant the gloom of remorse, only to discover its horrors.

“If you can resolve never to make the faintest allusion to what is past, dine with me to-morrow.”

I went to her again—and again.

My intimacy with Philip naturally induced some suspicions of connivance in his fraud on our establishment, and I was recommended to resign. Indignant, disgusted, relaxed by the fascinations of my enchantress, I entered a new path, and commenced gamester. The pupil of Adelaide, I devoted myself to acquire the minor points of address and management:—she was a most skilful anatomist of the human breast, and had dived deeply into all the modes of existence. Grown, at length, an adept in powerful calculations, in what she called the philosophy of finesse, had I also been possessed of wealth and name, I might still have flourished a reputable and distinguished practitioner of gaming; but the known insufficiency of my means to answer any sudden and exorbitant demand, subjected me to unjust surmises of intrigue. I had, *then*, nothing to conceal, and my carelessness of appearances created the very conjectures to which it ought to have been an antidote.

Calling one morning at Adelaide’s residence, I was shocked to hear that she had abruptly quitted it, without leaving the slightest clue to her next resort. I sought her every where in vain. But her loss did not afflict me very severely: it is the curse of the vicious that even their attachments are fragile, and the edge of my feelings had already been blunted by dissipation.

What course was I now to pursue? Utterly reduced in means, I applied to an acquaintance who was connected with the daily press: he procured me an appointment to report police intelligence. My profits were small, but my curiosity was amply gratified; I became conversant with the desperate characters whose crimes I recorded, and was no ineloquent historian of schemes which I was soon to share. Indeed, to me it was only a higher graduation in the school of artifice. But I grew weary of the labour of my employment; I resigned, and passed in rapid succession to be the purveyor of burlettas for a minor theatre, clerk in a lottery-office, and marker at a billiard-table. De-

bauched habits, however, and the worm within, which I had not yet succeeded in stifling, now condemned me to a long illness, and I passed three months in a miserable garret in Sherrard-street. A dispensary physician, who attended me, was interested by my conversation, and offered to obtain for me, on my recovery, a correctorship in a printing office. I gratefully accepted his proposal. But just as I recovered my health, I received an anonymous note, enclosing an hundred pounds with only these few words, to me too full of meaning, "*You a king, and weep?*"

With this supply I went to Paris. There I spent a year in improvement under consummate artists: in that circle I was a mere novice. With a new name, a new language, almost with a new face, I then opened a campaign in London. My abilities were too enlarged to be content with a single sphere of action; at home, I practised one of the most delicate subdivisions of forgery; abroad, I often mixed in splendid assemblies, never a vulgar depredator, and, aided by dress and manners, which were more than presentable, I was caressed as an elegant foreigner. I gained some brilliant prizes with a skill, ease, and resolution, of which you are happy in having no conception. My tact was, to be very constantly seen, to place myself very forward, but to attempt very rarely, only great objects, and never unless absolutely secure. I was amassing considerable sums, and dreamed of purchasing nobility and an estate under Italian skies.—But our forging connexions became too extensive, I was betrayed, and in four hours am to breathe my last.

Two singular coincidences I must not omit: such as often occur to the actors of agitated scenes, but which, in a fictitious narrative, you would regard with incredulity. An Irishman, to whom I was deeply indebted for aid in our mutual pursuits, was tried at Appleby for secreting notes from the coach-office. He was a man of fine talents, and a kind heart, worthy of better things. I came down to endeavour to prove an *alibi* for him, but in vain. But on that day, while I was standing in the inn-yard, a chaise drove up, containing yourself and your husband. You had been married on that very morning. You looked calmly on my altered features, little recognising in my faded and iron cheek the face on which you had so often gazed with confidence and fondness. What havoc does vice make on the countenance of her votaries!

Again. Returning once from the York races, I passed the night in a small inn at Bawtry. Descending the stairs the next morning, I was arrested by a faint groan issuing from a mean room, the door of which was not quite closed. On a coarse bed lay a figure, the convulsions of which strongly agitated the clothes that covered it. What a spectacle was there disclosed!—a face, the hollowness of which would, at any time, have shocked, but a ghastly blackness was now stealing over it, and the sunken eyes were glassy and fixed. He grasped my arm with a force that made me shudder, and hastily drew a pocket-book from beneath the pillow. It was of foreign construction, such as I had often remarked in the hands of Philip—and Philip he was, if identity could exist between that brilliant being and the loathsome form which now quivered before me on the rack of death. I pressed him to speak; it was too late. I placed a pencil in his icy hand, and opened a leaf. He looked at me, for a minute, with eyes that spoke

volumes through the mist which was fast enveloping them, and wrung my hand with an ecstasy of bitterness and despair—then scrawled these trembling words: "I do not ask your pardon—what is the forgiveness of a mortal to one hastening to hell. Arsenic is in my veins. Adelaide—a ring in the book—give to Adelaide." Philip! where will our next meeting be?

Carried by my vocation to a concert given at Whitehall to the Royal Visitors, I was astonished by the never-to-be-forgotten figure of Adelaide, in all the pride of beauty and decoration; she was inhaling the whispers of a Russian general. With a dexterity that eluded notice, I slipped into her reticule an envelope, which I had always carried since my interview with Philip; it contained the ring, and his fate. She is now in Petersburg, the mother of princes, or pacing a midnight alley.

I wonder how I can detail so minutely the tragedy of others, when my own is all but concluded. I feel a terrible indifference—all earthly pangs seem extinguished in the blaze of that eternal horizon which is frowning on me.

I could write on to you for ever, dreaming that I had still years left for repentance, for innocence. My boyish days, the green fields I loved so well, our sweet village, the kind faces that smiled on me so tenderly, my father, my mother,—*you*,—all, all are rushing before me, and is it possible that I am *here*? I seem to forget all the life between.

St. Paul's clock is striking five:—how often the clock of Grasmere has roused me to happiness and sunrise at this hour!—I hear the hammering of the scaffold. Oh, Mary—Pray for me—Pray for me.

FROM THE NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

THE IRISH BAR.

The law, and the practice of the courts, in Ireland, are, with some trivial exceptions, precisely the same as with us;* but the system of professional life in the sister-island is in some respects different. One of the particulars in which they differ may be made a source of interest and recreation to a stranger in Dublin, at least it was so to me. I allude to the custom, which the Irish Bar have long since adopted, of assembling daily for the transaction of business, or in search of it, if they have it not, in the Hall of the Four Courts. The building itself is a splendid one. Like the other public edifices of Dublin (and I might add, the private ones) it is an effort of Irish pride, exceeding far in magnificence the substantial wealth and civilization of the country. In the centre of the interior, and o'ercanopied by a lofty dome, is a spacious circular hall, into which the several courts of justice open. I was fond of lounging in this place. From the hours of twelve to three it is a busy and a motley scene. When I speak of it as the place

* There are no regular Reports of the Irish cases. All the new authorities are imported from England; so that the accident of a fair or foul wind may sometimes affect the decision of a cause. "Are you sure, Mr. Plunket, (said Lord Manners one day) that what you have stated is the law?" "It unquestionably was the law half an hour ago," replied Mr. P. pulling out his watch, "but by this time the packet has probably arrived, and I shall not be positive."

of daily resort for the members of the legal profession and their clients, I may be understood to mean that it is the general rendezvous of the whole community; for in Ireland almost every man of any pretensions that you meet, is either a plaintiff or defendant, or on the point of becoming so, and, when in the capital, seldom fails to repair at least once a-day to "the Hall," in order to look after his cause, and, by conferences with his lawyers, to keep up his mind to the true litigating temperature. It is here too that the political idlers of the town resort, to drop or pick up the rumours of the day. There is also a plentiful admixture of the lower orders, among whom it is not difficult to distinguish the country-litigant. You know him by his mantle of frieze, his two boots and one spur, by the tattered lease, fit emblem of his tenement, which he unfolds as cautiously as Sir Humphrey Davy would a manuscript of Herculaneum; and, best of all, by his rueful visage, in which you can clearly read that some clause in the last ejectment-act lies heavy on his heart. These form the principal materials of the scene; but it is not so easy to enumerate the manifold and ever-shifting combinations into which they are diversified. The rapid succession of so many objects passing and repassing eternally before you, perplexes and quickly exhausts the eye. It fares still worse with the ear. The din is tremendous. Besides the tumult of some thousand voices in ardent discussion, and the most of them raised to the declamatory pitch, you have ever and anon the stentorian cries of the tipstiffs bawling out "The gentlemen of the Special Jury to the box," or the still more thrilling vociferations of attorneys, or attorneys' clerks, hallooing to a particular counsel that "their case is called on, and all is lost if he delays an instant." Whereupon the counsel, catching up the sound of his name, wafted through the hubbub, breaks precipitately from the circle that engages him, and bustles through the throng, escorted, if he be of any eminence, by a posse of applicants, each claiming to monopolise him, until he reaches the entrance of the court, and plunging in, escapes for that time from their importunate solicitations. The bustle among the members of the Bar is greatly increased by the circumstance of all of them, with very few exceptions, practising in all the courts.* Hence at every moment you see the most eminent darting across the hall, flashed and palpitating from the recent conflict, and, no breathing-time allowed them, advancing with rapid strides and looks of fierce intent, to fling themselves again into the thick of another fight. It daily happens that two cases are to be heard in different courts, and in which the same barrister is the client's main support, are called on at the same hour. On such occasions it is amusing to witness the contest between the respective attorneys to secure their champion. Mr. O'Connell for instance, who is high in every branch of his profession, and peculiarly in request for what is termed "battling a motion," is perpetually to be seen, a conspicuous

* The custom that prevails in Ireland of counsel dividing themselves among the several courts, produces, particularly in important cases, an inconvenience similar to one that Cicero complains of as peculiar to the Roman forum in his day—the multiplicity of advocates retained upon each trial, and the absence of some of them during parts of the proceedings upon which they have afterwards to comment. "Respondemus iis quos non audivimus; in quo primum sepe aliter est dictum, aliter ad nos relatum. Deinde magni interest coram videre me, quemadmodum adversarius de quaqua re asseveret, maxime autem quemadmodum quæque res cudiatur."—*De Claris Oratoribus*.

figure in this scene of clamour and commotion, balancing between two equally pressing calls upon him, and deploring his want of ubiquity. The first time he was pointed out to me, he was in one of these predicaments, suspended like Garrick in the picture between conflicting solicitations. On the one side an able-bodied, boisterous Catholic attorney, from the county of Kerry, had laid his athletic gripe upon "the counsellor," and swearing by some favourite saint, was fairly hauling him along in the direction of the Exchequer—on the other side a more polished town-practitioner, of the established faith, pointed with pathetic look and gesture to the Common Pleas, and in tones of agony implored the learned gentleman to remember "that their case was actually on, and that if he were not at his post, the Court would grant the motion, cost and all, against their client." On such occasions a counsel has a delicate task; but long habit enables him to assume a neutrality, if he has it not. In the instance alluded to, I could not sufficiently admire the intense impartiality manifested by the subject of contention towards each of the competitors for his learned carcass; but the physical force of the man from Kerry, aided perhaps by some local associations, for the counsellor is a "Kerry-man" himself, prevailed over all the moral wooing of his rival, and he carried off the prize.

The preceding are a few of the constant and ever-acting elements of noise and motion in this busy scene; but an extra sensation is often given to the congregated mass. The detection of a pickpocket (I am not speaking figuratively) causes a sudden and impetuous rush of heads with wigs and without them to the spot where the culprit has been caught *in flagranti*. At other times the scene is diversified by a group of fine girls from the country, coming, as they all make a point of doing, to see the courts, and show themselves to the junior bar. A crowd of young and learned gallants instantaneously collects, and follows in their wake: even the arid veteran will start from his legal reverie as they pass along, or, discontinuing the perusal of his deeds and counterparts, betray by a faint leer, that with all his love of parchment, a fine skin glowing with the tints that life and nature give it, has yet a more prevailing charm. Lastly, I must not omit that the Hall is not unfrequently thrown into "Confusion worse confounded," by that particular breach of his majesty's Irish peace, improperly called a "horse-whipping." When an insult is to be avenged, this place is often chosen for its publicity as the fittest scene of castigation. Besides this, particular classes in Ireland, who have quarrels on their hands, cherish certain high-minded and chivalrous notions on the subject. The injured feelings of a gentleman, as they view the matter, are to be redressed, not so much by the pain and shame inflicted upon the aggressor, as by a valiant contempt of the laws that would protect the back of the community from stripes; and hence the point of honour is more completely satisfied by a gentle caning under the very nose of justice, than by a sound cudgelling any where beyond the sacred precincts.

But this scene, though at first view the emblem of inextricable confusion, will yet, when frequently contemplated, assume certain forms approaching to regular combination: thus, after an attendance of a few days, if you perambulate the arena, or stand upon some elevated point from which you can take in the whole, you will recog-

nise, especially among the members of the bar, the same individuals, or classes, occupied or grouped in something like an habitual manner. On the steps outside the entrance to the Court of Chancery, your eye will probably be caught by the imposing figure, and the courteous and manly features of Bushe, waiting there till his turn comes to refute some long-winded argument going on within, and to which, as a piece of forensic finesse, he affects a disdain to listen:—or, near the same spot, you will light upon the less social, but more pregnant and meditative countenance of Plunket, as he paces to and fro alone, resolving some matter of imperial moment, until he is roused from these more congenial musings, and hurries on to Court, at the call of the shrill-tongued crier, to simplify, or embarrass some question of equitable altercation:—or if it be a *Nisi Prius* day in any of the law-courts, you may observe outside, the delight of Dublin Jurors, Mr. H. D. Grady,* working himself into a jovial humour against the coming statement, and with all the precaution of an experienced combatant, squibbing his “Jury-eye,” lest it should miss fire when he appears upon the ground. Or, to pass from individuals to groups, you will daily find, and pretty nearly upon the same spot, the same little circles or coteries, composed chiefly of the members of the junior bar, as politics or community of tastes, or family connexions, may bring them together.—Among these you will readily distinguish those who by birth or expectations consider themselves to be identified with the aristocracy of the country: you see it in their more fashionable attire and attitudes, their joyous and unworn countenances, and in the lighter topics of discussion on which they can afford to indulge. At a little distance stands a group of quite another stamp;—pallid, keen-eyed, anxious aspirants for professional employment, and generally to be found in vehement debate over some dark and dreary point of statute or common-law, in the hope that, by violently rubbing their opinions together, a light may be struck at last. A little farther on you will come upon another, a group of learned vetoists and anti-vetoists, where some youthful or veteran theologian is descanting upon the abominations of a schism, with a running accompaniment of original remarks upon the politics of the Vatican, and the character of Cardinal Gonsalvi. Close to these again—but I find that I should never have done, were I to attempt comprising within a single view the endless and complicated details of this panoramic spectacle or to specify the proportions in which the several subjects discussed here, respectively contribute to form the loud and ceaseless buz that rises and reverberates through the roof.

This daily assemblage of the Irish Bar, in a particular spot, enables you to estimate at a glance the extraordinary numbers of that body, and to perceive what an enormous excess they bear to the professional occupation which the country can by possibility afford. After all the Courts are filled to the brim, there still remains a legal population to occupy the vast arena without. I was particularly struck by the number of young men (many of them, I was assured, possessed of

* I must, in passing, observe of this gentleman, that as a mere actor of broad humour, he is equal to any I have ever seen upon our stage. His manner, too, has the merit of being all his own; his conceptions are transcendently droll; but, to be appreciated, he must be heard in court, for he conscientiously keeps all his good jokes for the service of his clients.

fine talents, which, if differently applied, must have forced their way) who from term to term, and year to year, submit to "trudge the Hall," waiting till their turn shall come at last, and too often harassed by forebodings that it may never come. It was not difficult to read their history in their looks: their countenances wore a sickly, pallid, and jaded expression;* the symbols of hope deferred, if not extinguished; there was even something, as they sauntered to and fro, in their languid gait and undecided movements, from which it could be inferred that their sensations were melancholy and irksome. I was for some time at a loss to account for this extreme disproportion between the supply and the demand; so much greater than any ever known to exist in England. During my stay in Dublin, I accidentally fell into conversation with an intelligent Irish gentleman, who in the early part of his life had been connected for some years with the profession of the law. I mentioned what I had observed, and asked for an explanation: he gave it pretty nearly as follows; and, allowing now and then for a little national exaggeration of manner and expression, I am inclined to confide in what he stated as substantially correct.—"Your remark is just, that our bar is grievously overstocked; and crowds of fresh members are flocking to it every term, as if for the sole purpose, and certainly with the effect, of starving one another. If the annual emoluments of the profession were collected into a common fund, and equally distributed among the body, the portion of each would not exceed a miserable pittance. The ordinary explanation of this is, that the profession of the law is like a lottery, where the greatness of the prizes allures an extraordinary number of competitors: this is true to a certain extent in England, as well as here; but I suspect with this difference, that in England almost every person, before he purchases a ticket, assures himself, that he has, not only some chance of the highest prizes, but a great chance of the intermediate and smaller ones; whereas with us not more than one-fourth of the holders have the slightest ground of calculating upon either the one or the other. This inordinate preference for the profession of the bar in this country arises from many causes. As one of the chief, I shall mention the preposterous ambition of our gentry, and their fantastic sensitiveness on the article of 'family pride.' All our distresses and humiliations have not yet tamed us into right notions upon

* I have heard several medical men of Dublin speak of the air of the Courts and Hall, as particularly unwholesome. Besides the impurity communicated to the atmosphere by the crowds that collect there, the situation is low and marshy. The building is so close to the river, that fears have been entertained for the safety of the foundation. Formerly, before the present quay was constructed, the water in high tides sometimes made its way into the Hall. The mention of this reminds me of one or two of Curran's jokes:—upon one occasion, not only the Hall, but the subterraneous cellars in which the bar-dresses are kept, were inundated. When the counsel went down to robe, they found their wigs and gowns afloat; Curran, for whom a cause was waiting, seized the first that drifted within reach, and appeared in court, dripping like a river-god.—"Well, Mr. Curran," asked one of the judges, "how did you leave your friends coming on below?"—"Swimmingly, my Lord." In the course of the morning, one of these learned friends (who, from missing his footing, had come in for a thorough sousing) repeatedly protested to their Lordships, that he should feel *ashamed* to offer such and such arguments to the Court.—Curran, in reply, complimented him upon his delicacy of feeling, which he represented as "truly a high and rare strain of modesty, in one who had just been dipped in the Liffey."

the most important concerns of life. In every thing we still prefer glare to substance,—in nothing more than in the choice of a profession for our sons. An Irish father's first anxiety is to give his son a calling in every way befitting the ancient dignity of his name; and in this point of view the bar has peculiar attractions. It is not merely that it may, by possibility, lead to wealth, or, perhaps, to a peerage, or a seat in the privy council, though these are never left out of the account, but, independently of all this, an adventitious dignity has been conferred upon it, as a profession, by the political circumstances of the country. Until the act of 1792, no Catholic could become a barrister; all the emoluments and dignities of the law were the exclusive property of the privileged few; and they were so considerable, that the highest families in the kingdom rushed in to share them. This stamped an aristocratic character and importance upon the profession. To be a 'counsellor' in those days was to be no ordinary personage. Many of them belonged to noble houses; many were men of name and authority in the state; all of them, even the least distinguished, caught a certain ray of glory from the mere act of association with a favoured class contending for the most dazzling objects of competition. Much of this has passed away; but a popular charm, I should rather say a delusion still attaches to the name; and parents, duped by certain vague and obsolete associations, continue to precipitate their sons into this now most precarious career, without the least advertence to their substantial prospects of success, and in utter ignorance of the peculiar habits and talents required to obtain it. It is a common by-word, with us, 'that no one who really deserves to succeed at our bar will fail.' This may be very true; but what a complication of qualities, what a course of privation, what trials of taste, and temper, and pride, are involved in that familiar and ill-understood assertion. A young barrister who looks to eminence from his own sheer unaided merits, must have a mind and frame prepared by nature for the endurance of unremitting toil. He must cram his memory with the arbitrary principles of a complex and incongruous code, and be equally prepared, as occasion serves, to apply or misapply them. He must not only surpass his competitors in the art of reasoning right from right principles—the logic of common life; but he must be equally an adept in reasoning right from wrong principles, and wrong from right ones. He must learn to glory in a perplexing sophistry, as in the discovery of an immortal truth. He must make up his mind and his face to demonstrate, in open court, with all imaginable gravity, that nonsense is replete with meaning, and that the clearest meaning is manifestly nonsense by construction. This is what is meant by 'legal habits of thinking;' and to acquire them he must not only prepare his faculties by a course of assiduous and direct cultivation, but he must absolutely forswear all other studies and speculations that may interfere with their perfection. There must be no dallying with literature; no hankering after comprehensive theories for the good of men; away must be wiped all such 'trivial fond records.' He must keep to his digests and indexes. He must see nothing in mankind but a great collection of plaintiffs and defendants, and consider no revolution in their affairs as comparable in interest to the last term report of points of practice decided in *Banco Regis*. As he walks the streets, he must give way to no sentimental musings. There must be no 'commerce with the

skies; no idle dreams of love, and rainbows, and poetic forms, and all the bright allusions upon which the 'fancy free' can feast. If a thought of love intrudes, it must be connected with the law of marriage settlements, and articles of separation from bed and board. So of the other passions; and of every the most interesting incident and situation in human life—he must view them all with reference to their 'legal effect and operation.' If a funeral passes by, instead of permitting his imagination to follow the mourners to the grave, he must consider, how far the executor may not have made himself liable for a waste of assets by some supernumerary plumes and hatbands, beyond 'the state and circumstances of the deceased;'—or if his eye should light upon a requisition for a public meeting, to petition against a grievance, he must regard the grievance as immaterial, but bethink himself whether the wording of the requisition be strictly warrantable under the provisions of the convention act.

"Such is a part, and a very small part, of the probationary discipline to which the young candidate for forensic eminence must be prepared to submit; and if he can hold out for ten or fifteen years, his superior claims may begin to be known and rewarded. But success will bring no diminution of toil and self-denial. The bodily and mental labour alone of a successful barrister's life would be sufficient, if known beforehand, to appal the stoutest. Besides this, it has its many peculiar rubs and annoyances. His life is passed in a tumult of perpetual contention, and he must make up his sensibility to give and receive the hardest knocks. He has no choice of cases; he must throw himself heart and soul into the most unpromising that is confided to him. He must fight pitched battles with obstreperous witnesses. He must have lungs to outclamour the most clamorous. He must make speeches without materials. He must keep battering for hours at a jury that he sees to be impregnable. He is before the public, and at the mercy of public opinion, and if every nerve be not strained to the utmost to achieve what is impossible, the public, with its usual good-nature, will attribute the failure to want of zeal or capacity in the advocate—to any thing rather than the badness of the cause. Finally, he must appear to be sanguine, even after a defeat; and be prepared to tell a knavish client, that has been beaten out of the courts of common law, that his 'is a clear case for relief in equity.' The man who can do all this deserves to succeed, and will succeed; but unless he be gifted with the rare qualifications of such men as Curran, Bushe, and Plunket, or be lifted by those fortuitous aids upon which few have a right to count, he cannot rationally expect to arrive at eminence in his profession upon less rigorous conditions.

"Hitherto," continued my informant, "I have been speaking of such as come to the bar as simply and solely to a scene of professional exertion; but there is another and a still more numerous class who are sent to it for the sake of the lucrative offices with which it abounds. It was no sooner discovered that our bar was uninfluential, and likely, on occasions, to be a troublesome body in the state, than the most decisive measures were taken to break its spirit. Places were multiplied beyond all necessity and all precedent in England. By a single act of parliament, two and thirty judicial offices were created, to be held by barristers of six years' standing, and averaging each from five to eight hundred pounds a year. This was one of the political

measures of the late Lord Clare, an able lawyer, and excellent private character; but, like many other sound lawyers and worthy gentlemen, a most mischievous statesman. He had felt in his own experience how far the receipt of the public money may extinguish a sensibility to public abuses. And he planned and passed the bar-bill. The same policy has been continued to the present day. The profession teems with places of emolument; and the consequence is, that every subdivision of the 'parliamentary interest' deposes its representative, to get forward in the ordinary way, as talents or chance may favour him, but at all events to receive in due time his distributive portion of the general patronage.

"The views of Lord Clare, and his successors, have been to a certain extent attained. The Irish bar no longer takes any part as a body in public concerns; but if it were expected that they were to be disciplined into a corps of corrupt and violent partizans, the plan, for the honour of their country and their profession, has failed. I could collect that it is very unusual for any of these, either expecting or enjoying the favours of the government, ever to make themselves unworthily conspicuous, by clamouring for a continuance of the system under which they thrive. If they have not the high virtue to sacrifice their personal interests to the public good, they at least have the dignity to abstain from all factious co-operation with the party to which they are considered to belong; and, in Irish politics, neutrality of this kind is no ordinary merit.

"I must also add, as highly to the credit of the Irish bar, that their personal independence, in the discharge of their professional duties, has continued as it used to be in the best days of their country. The remark applies to the general spirit of the entire body. There may be exceptions that escaped my observation; but I could perceive no symptoms of subserviency—no surrender of the slightest title of their clients' rights to the frowns or impatience of the bench. I was rather struck by the peculiarly bold and decisive tone, with which, when occasions arose, they asserted the privileges of the advocate. An idea has prevailed of late, let me hope incorrectly, that with us a political defendant has a difficulty in finding an advocate, upon whose nerves and zeal he can rely. Such a suspicion has never been entertained in Ireland. Humbled and exhausted as she has been, her bar has not yet been drained of its purity and strength. In that country an obnoxious defendant has much to fear, and from many quarters; but when the hour of his trial approaches, he has, at least, the consolation of knowing that he can never want the support, and to any number he may wish, of able and honourable men, in whose loyalty to their trust, and intrepidity in discharging it, he may confidently repose.

"While I am upon this subject, I cannot omit a passing remark upon another quality, by which I consider the gentlemen of this bar to be pre-eminently distinguished—the invariable courtesy of manners which they preserve amidst all the hurry and excitement of litigation. The present Chancellor of Ireland, himself a finished gentleman, was struck upon his arrival 'by the peculiarly gentlemanlike manner in which he observed business transacted in his court.' I have given an instance of this forensic suavity in my notice of Mr. Bushe.—He is the great model of this quality. He hands up a point of law to the bench with as much grace and pliancy of gesture, as if he were presenting a court-

lady with a fan. This excessive finish is peculiar to himself; but the spirit which dictates it is common to the entire profession. Scenes of turbulent altercation are inevitably frequent, and every weapon of disputation—wit and sneers, and deadly brain-blows must be employed and encountered; but the contest is purely intellectual: it is extremely rare indeed that any thing approaching to an offensive personality escapes. I confess that I far prefer this systematic respect for the high feelings of the gentleman to the less courtly usage of our bar,—where I have not unfrequently heard flat contradictions, and unqualified imputations of professional ignorance, very liberally bandied to and fro between the learned combatants. Nothing of this ultra-forensic warmth occurs in the Irish courts. It is avoided on common principles of good taste: it is also prevented, if I am rightly informed, by the understood feeling that any thing bordering upon personal rudeness must infallibly lead to a settlement out of Court.*

When I first visited the courts in Dublin, I went entirely with the view of witnessing the specimens of forensic talent displayed there. The result of my observations upon these will come in more naturally in connexion with the particular characters of whom I propose to treat. But I found more than I had expected; and one circumstance that very forcibly struck me demands a few words apart. I would recommend to any stranger wishing to obtain a thorough insight into the state of manners and morals in the interior of Ireland, without incurring the risk of a visit to the remoter districts, to attend upon a few motion-days in any of the Irish courts of common law. A large portion of these motions relate to ineffectual attempts to execute the process of the law; and the facts that daily come out, offer a frightful and most disgraceful picture of the lawless habits of the lower, and also, I regret to add, of the higher orders of the community. One of our judges in Westminster Hall would start from his seat in wonder and indignation at the detail of scenes to which the Irish judges, from long familiarity, listen almost unmoved, as to mere ordinary outrages of course. The office of a process-server in Ireland appears to be, indeed, a most perilous occupation, and one that requires no common qualities in the person that undertakes it; he must unite the courage and strength of the common soldier with the conduct and skill in stratagem of the experienced commander; for wo betide him, if he be deficient in either. The moment this hostile herald of the law is known to be hovering on the confines of a Connaught gentleman's domain, (that sacred territory into which his Majesty's writs have no right to run,) the proud blood of the defendant swells up to the boiling point, and he takes the promptest measures to repel and chastise the intruder: he summons his servants and tenants to a council of war; he stiffens their fidelity by liberal doses of "mountain-dew;"* they swear they will stand by his "honour" to the last. Preparations as against a regular siege ensue; doors and windows are barred; sentinels stationed; blunderbusses charged; approved scouts are sent out to reconnoitre; and skirmishing parties, armed with cudgels and pitchforks, are detached along every avenue of approach. Having taken these precautions, the magnanimous defendant shuts himself up in his inmost citadel to abide the issue. The issue may be anticipated; the

* Elicit whiskey—so called, from being generally distilled on the mountainous tracts.

messenger of the law is either deterred from coming near, or, if he has the hardihood to face the danger, he is way-laid and beaten black and blue for his presumption:—if he shows the King's writ, it is torn from him, and flung back in fragments in his face. Resistance, remonstrance, and intreaties are all unavailing; nothing remains for him but to effect his retreat, if the power of moving be left him, to the nearest magistrate, not in the interest of the defendant, where with the help of some attorney that will venture to take a fee against "his honour," he draws up a bulletin of his kicks and bruises in the form of an affidavit, to ground a motion, that "another writ do issue;" or, as it might be more correctly worded, "That another process-server do expose himself to as sound a thrashing as the last." This is not an exaggerated picture; and in order to complete it, it should not be omitted that the instigator of the outrage, as soon as he can with safety appear abroad, will to a certainty be found among the most clamorous for proclamations and insurrection-acts, to keep down the lawless propensities of his district.

I have offered a specimen of Irish society, as I could collect it from affidavits daily produced in court; yet, shocking and disgusting as the details are, I confess it is not easy to repress a smile at the style in which those adventurous scenes are described. The affidavits are generally the composition of country attorneys. The maltreated process-server puts the story of his injured feelings and beaten carcase into the hands of one of these learned penmen; and I must do them the justice to say, that they conscientiously make the most of the task confided to them. They have all a dash of national eloquence about them; the leading qualities of which, metaphor, pathos, sonorous phrase, impassioned delineation, &c. they liberally embody with the technical detail of facts, forming a class of oratory quite unknown to the schools,—*"The Oratory of the Affidavit."*—What British adviser, for instance, of matters to be given in on oath, would venture upon such a poetical statement as the following, which I took down one day in the Irish Court of Common Pleas:—"And this deponent farther saith, that on arriving at the house of the said defendant, situate in the county of Galway aforesaid, for the purpose of personally serving him with the said writ, he the said deponent knocked three several times at the outer, commonly called the hall-door, but could not obtain admittance; whereupon this deponent was proceeding to knock a fourth time, when a man, to this deponent unknown, holding in his hands a musket or blunderbuss, loaded with balls or slugs, as this deponent has since heard and verily believes, appeared at one of the upper windows of said house, and, presenting said musket or blunderbuss at this deponent, threatened, 'that if said deponent did not instantly retire, he would send his, this said deponent's, soul to hell;' *which this deponent verily believes he would have done*—had not this deponent precipitately escaped."

FROM THE EDINBURGH PHILOSOPHICAL JOURNAL.

STRING ALPHABET FOR THE USE OF THE BLIND.

THE string alphabet is formed by so knitting a cord, a ribbon, or the like, that the protuberances made upon it may be qualified by their

shape, size, and situation, for signifying the elements of language. The letters of this alphabet are distributed into seven classes, which are distinguished by certain knots or other marks; each class comprehends four letters, except the last, which comprehends but two. The first, or A class, is distinguished by a large round knot; the second, or E class, by a knot projecting from the line; the third, or I class, by the series of links, vulgarly called the drummer's plait; the fourth, or M class, by a simple noose; the fifth, or Q class, by a noose with a line drawn through it; the sixth, or U class, by a noose with a net-knot cast on it; and the seventh, or Y class, by a twisted noose. The first letter of each class is denoted by the simple characteristic of its respective class; the second by the characteristic, and a common knot close to it; the third, by the characteristic and a common knot half an inch from it; and the fourth, by the characteristic and a common knot an inch from it. Thus A is simply a large round knot, B is a large round knot, with a common knot close to it; C is a large round knot, with a common knot half an inch from it; and D is a large round knot, with a common knot an inch from it, and so on.—The alphabet above described, is found by experience to answer completely the purpose for which it was invented. The inventors, Robert Milne and David Macbeath, who are both blind, being in the habit of corresponding by its means, not only with each other, but with several individuals whom they had taught its use. It must readily occur to every one, that the employment of an alphabet composed in the manner which has been explained, will ever be necessarily tedious; but it should be borne in mind, that there is no supposable system of tangible figures significant of thought, that is not more or less liable to the same objection. The inventors are aware, that among the different methods by which people at a distance might be enabled to hold mutual intercourse through the medium of a language addressed to the touch, there are some that would doubtless be more expeditious than theirs; but they flatter themselves, that when all the advantages and disadvantages of each particular method are duly considered, the plan which they have been led to adopt will appear, upon the whole, decidedly the best. There can scarcely be any system of tangible signs, which it would be less difficult either to learn or to remember; since a person of ordinary intellect may easily acquire a thorough knowledge of the string-alphabet in an hour, and retain it for ever. Yet the inventors can assure their readers, that it is impossible for the pen or the press to convey ideas with greater precision. Besides the highly important properties of simplicity and accuracy which their scheme unites, and in which it has not been surpassed, it possesses various minor, nor yet inconsiderable, advantages, in which, it is presumed, it cannot be equalled by any thing of its kind. For example, its tactile representations of articulate sounds are easily portable,—the materials of which they are constructed may always be procured at a trifling expense,—and the apparatus necessary for their construction is extremely simple. In addition to the letters of the alphabet, there have been contrived arithmetical figures, which, it is hoped, will be of great utility, as the remembrance of numbers is often found peculiarly difficult. Palpable commas, semicolons, &c. have likewise been provided to be used, when judged requisite. The inventors have only to add, that, sensible of the happy results of the invention to themselves, and commiserating

the fate of their fellow-prisoners of darkness, they most earnestly recommend to all entrusted with the education of persons deprived of sight, carefully to instruct them in the principles of orthography, as the blind being in general unable to spell, is the chief obstacle to their deriving from the new mode of signifying thought, the much wanted benefit which it is designed to extend to their melancholy circumstances.

ACCOUNT OF THE CALEDONIAN CANAL.

AFTER a labour of nineteen years, and an expenditure of a million, on this great public undertaking, it has been completed and opened. Considered as a mere work of magnitude, it has not, perhaps, its equal in the world; and its importance in opening a communication between the eastern and western seas, thereby avoiding the dangerous navigation of the Pentland Firth or the English Channel, will be highly prized by the mercantile and other classes.

At ten o'clock on Wednesday morning, October 30, the *Lochness* steam-yacht, accompanied by two smacks, departed from the Locks of Muirtown, on the first voyage through the Canal, amidst the loud and enthusiastic cheerings of a great concourse of people, and firing of cannon. The morning was peculiarly favourable, although rather calm; and the banks of the Canal were crowded with spectators, a great number of whom accompanied the party from the Muirtown Locks to the Bridge of Bught; the band of the Invernesshire Militia going on-board at Dochgarroch Lock, and playing "God save the King."

The Act of Parliament for effecting this important inland navigation was passed on the 22d of July, 1803. By a line of lochs and rivers Nature seemed to have invited the skill and enterprise of man to the undertaking, and, upon investigation, every part intended to be occupied by the Canal was found, with little abatement, to be very favourable to the purpose. It has been considered as probable, that, in more early ages of the world, the immense chasm (almost two-thirds of the length of which is still occupied by water,) has been nearly open from sea to sea; and that the land which now separates the lochs has been formed from the adjoining mountains, wasted by time, and brought down by torrents from rain. The Commissioners held their first meeting on the 30th of the same month, and set to work with a promptitude not in general so conspicuous in the discharge of public duty. It opens into Loch Beaul, part of the Murray Frith, and, near Clachnacary, ascends by a cluster of four locks. It was found necessary to alter the course of the Ness, by throwing up an embankment of about a thousand yards in length, and twelve feet in height, above the line of ordinary low water in the river.

Near Inverness the soil is so loose, being composed of gravel and sand, that, in pits sunk for trial, the water rose and fell with the tide, and considerable apprehension was entertained that a proper foundation for the locks, and other necessary masonry, would not have been found; but, at length, one place was discovered of sufficient solidity to answer the purpose. The Canal then proceeds through Loch Doughfour, a little loch, which presented the greatest difficulty to the

navigation on account of its shallowness, and the quantities of gravel which are carried with great velocity into, and through it. The navigation then continues to Loch Ness, a distance of about seven miles, the advantageous length and form of which determined the undertaking. It is a noble piece of water, twenty-three miles and three quarters long, and in breadth varies from a mile and a quarter to three quarters of a mile, and is nearly straight from one end to the other. Its shores are bold and commanding, and on each side rise lofty, rocky, and rugged, mountains, irregularly cut into deep gullies, with frightful precipices. The depth of its water is from one hundred and six to one hundred and twenty-nine fathoms in the middle parts, to eighty-five, seventy-five, or less, near its end, to the east. The sides, except the bays, are very steep; the rise being a foot in height to a foot and a half in breadth.

At the western end of this loch stands Fort Augustus, where the foundation of the lock near this fort, and on Loch Ness, is twenty-four feet below the level of the summer surface of the lake, which, varying in its height ten feet, rendered it necessary to cut a new channel for the river through the rock on the north side, in order to get at a solid foundation of rock, the soil being too open to warrant the cutting to so great a depth. The Canal from Fort Augustus ascends about five miles to Loch Oich, which is about three miles in length, and one quarter broad, and is in some parts twenty-six fathoms in depth, and in others only five. This loch is the summit level of the Canal. From the western end of this loch the Canal is continued for about two miles, when it falls into Loch Lochy, a sheet of water ten miles and a half long, and its breadth, at the east end, near three quarters of a mile; from thence it increases, until, in the Bay of Arkeg, it spreads to about a mile and a quarter, and is from seventy-six to seventy-four fathoms deep in many parts. On one side of this loch are high ridges of rocks and ground, descending abruptly into the lake. At the east end of this lake is a complete little harbour, in which there are from ten to five fathoms water, admirably adapted for giving every protection to the Canal, and safe and commodious for ships to lie in.

A new course has been cut for the river Lochy, along the bottom of the bank on the south side, where the Canal occupies the deserted part of the bed of the river, and the lake has been raised twelve feet above its ancient level. The Canal proceeds by Corpach to Loch Eil, which communicates with the Sound of Mull, and is part of the West Sea. At Corpach a sea-lock has been formed, cut out of the rock, and a small basin made within it, capable of admitting a number of vessels with the flowing tide, which, after the gates are closed, may ascend the locks at leisure, of which the whole number will be twenty-five, and the number of lock-gates thirty-eight: these, by being in clusters, are much less expensive than in separate locks, on account of the back of one forming the front of the next; whereas separate locks must be complete in all their parts. Bridges have been constructed of cast-iron, similar to those at the West-India Docks and London Docks, which swing horizontally to each side of the Canal, or lock. At the eastern end of Loch Eil stands Fort William, as far as which there is a safe navigation and harbour for shipping. In this manner the junction of the two seas has been effected.